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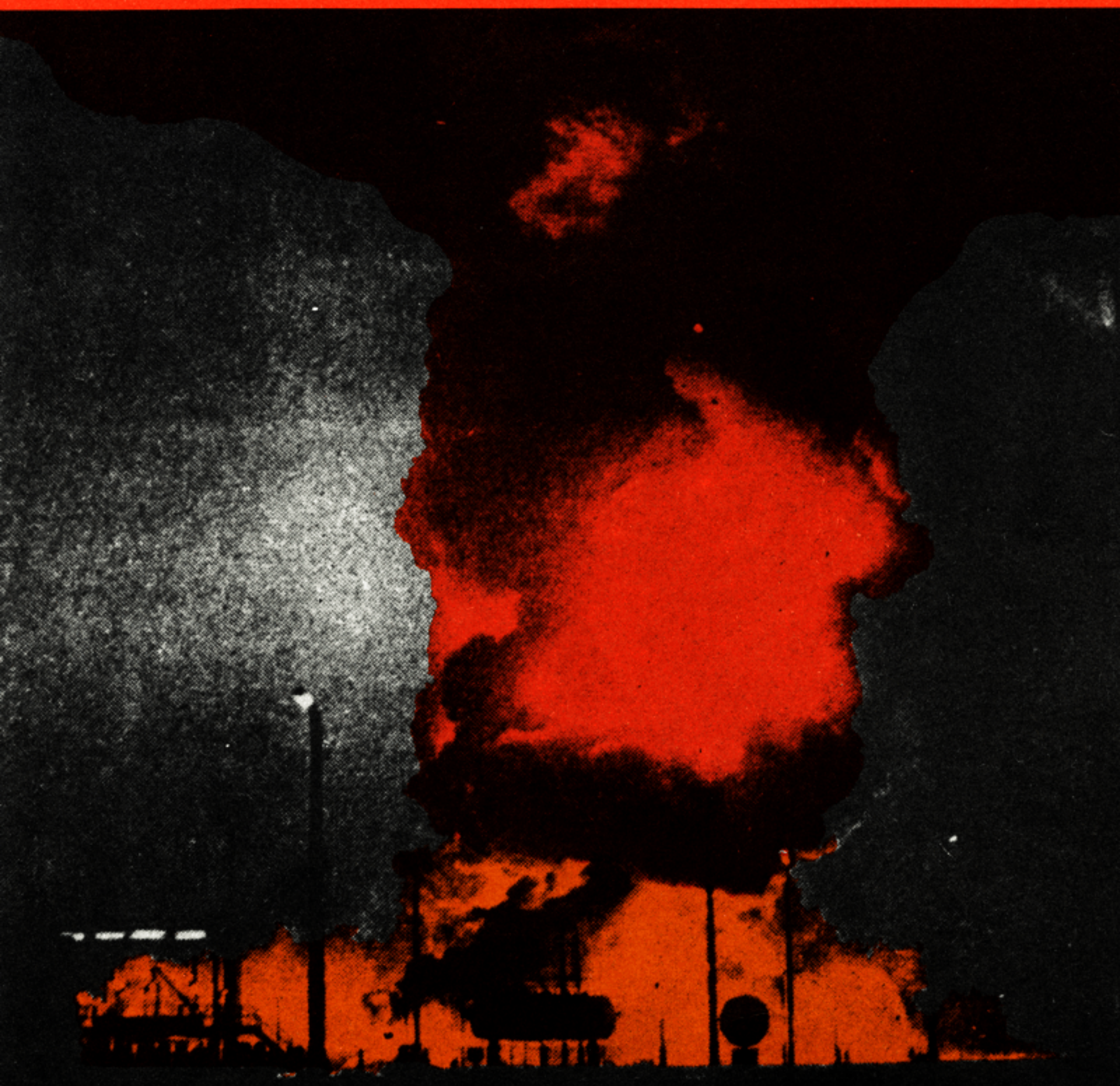

THE PEOPLE RISE UP

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THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST

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EDITORIAL NOTES

THE WORKING CLASS TAKES THE LEAD

The most striking feature of the recent upsurge in South Africa has been the role of the proletariat, everywhere showing itself active and militant in the struggle against the employers and the state.

"Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today", wrote Marx and Engels in *The Communist Manifesto*, "the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product . . .

"All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in

the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interests of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superstructure of the official society being sprung into the air."

It was the recognition of the essential role of the proletariat which led to the birth of the socialist movement in South Africa during the upheavals of the first world war, culminating in the foundation of the Communist Party in 1921. It has been the great achievement of our party to burn into the consciousness of the oppressed workers the understanding of their historic mission and to show the essential link between the class and national struggle in South Africa, as outlined in our party programme and the various documents issued by the party in recent years.

But it is not the duty of a Communist Party only to argue and make appeals to logic and reason. As Lenin said, the real duty of a revolutionary party is "not to draw up plans for refashioning society, not to preach to the capitalists and their hangers-on, not to hatch conspiracies, but *to organise the class struggle of the proletariat and to lead this struggle, the ultimate aim of which is the conquest of political power by the proletariat and the organisation of a socialist society.*" (Collected Works, Vol 4, p. 211.)

It is because our party and its members, from the earliest days to the present, have not been merely teachers and preachers, but participants and activists, because they have been part of the people in action, because they have initiated or helped organise and taken part, at leadership and rank and file level, in every struggle against racist oppression during the last 60 years that the movement of liberation in our country has achieved the level of consistency and determination it is showing today. The clarity of vision and perspective made possible by scientific socialism have penetrated far beyond the ranks of our party and now permeate all sections of the national liberation movement.

The upsurge we witness today is not accidental, nor is it blind. Partly it is the inevitable consequence of the failure of the apartheid capitalist regime to meet the aspirations of the people. We live in a class and race-dominated society in which the apartheid laws not only deny to the black majority any opportunity of pulling themselves out of the mire of poverty and oppression, but which more and more is failing to provide them with the very means of physical survival. Listen again to *The Communist Manifesto:*

"The modern labourer . . . instead of rising with the progress of

industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. And here it becomes evident that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an over-riding law. It is unfit to rule because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery, because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state, that it has to feed him, instead of being fed by him; in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society".

If this is true of the societies led by Mrs Thatcher and President Carter, with their record millions of unemployed and decaying industries, how much more true is it of South Africa, where inflation and unemployment attack the very basis of life of the people and the Bantustan programme, by disclaiming government responsibility for the majority of its citizens, is tantamount to genocide? Let the 3 million black unemployed rot in the re-settlement camps and the "independent" Bantustans or homelands; they have no claim on Pretoria, says Premier Botha. Thatcher and Carter may still feed their unemployed by means of the dole; the racist South African regime turns its back on them.

The strikes and disturbances which are racking South Africa today cannot be ascribed to any single phenomenon. A host of subjective and objective factors are in operation — a new consciousness of the possibilities of liberation following the independence of Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, the increased tempo of the struggle in Namibia, the striking achievments of PLAN, the military wing of SWAPO, and Umkhonto we Sizwe in the field of battle, the overall advance in the world-wide struggle against imperialism. But underlying all is the refusal of the mass of oppressed people to go on living in the old way, a refusal made all the more adamant because, while the reprisal of the state for insurrection may be imprisonment or death, the alternative of submission and acceptance is death anyway by starvation and disease.

Even the lying statistics of the regime cannot conceal the fact that, despite the so-called economic "boom", despite the phenomenal increase in the price of gold, the gap between white and black living standards in South Africa is increasing. A Natal University survey quoted in the *Financial Mail* of July 25 showed that the black/white ratio of per capita income varied between 1:10.6 in 1946; 1:11.9 in 1960; 1:15 in 1970 and 1:12.5 in 1975. "While reliable data for the second half of the seventies is not yet available," says the *Financial Mail*, "it is possible that the black

share of national income has subsequently declined". Both unemployment and the population continue to increase, while the number of jobs held by Africans has dropped. "Economic development has . . . heightened the gap between rich urban and poor rural areas", reports the *Financial Mail*. In the rural areas, where the bulk of the population live, per capita incomes, including earnings from migrant workers, total only R110 per capita per annum, compared with national average income per capita of R1,149, which of course includes white incomes. In May of this year the ombudsman of the South African Council of Churches, Mr Eugene Roelofse, reported that white farmers were paying African farm labourers "starvation wages" — in some cases R12 a month or less, while in one case of which he knew the wage was R4 per month plus a bag of maize. Assaults on farm labourers were characterised by "violence and cruelty which has to be seen to be believed". In the towns recent increases in rents, bus fares and the price of food have added to the intolerable burden.

"Give me six months", cried Premier Vorster appealing for support for his policy of "dialogue". "Adapt or die", cried Premier Botha last year. But nothing changes. The pass laws are applied more stringently than ever. The mass removals and the destruction of families continue. Both Vorster and Botha tinker with petty constitutional "reforms" but, when pressed, declare they would never, never agree to majority rule in a unitary South African state. Whatever modifications they were prepared to contemplate, white domination had to remain intact.

Even the businessmen who applauded Botha's "new deal" outlined at his economic conference last November are grumbling that nothing has been done since then to bring about meaningful change. Nevertheless, change is coming — not by courtesy of Premier Botha or the Dutch Reformed Church but in spite of them and thanks to the action of all sections and strata among the oppressed people, led by the working class. As Lenin said:

"The emancipation of the working classes must be won by the working classes themselves; a socialist revolution is out of the question unless the masses become class-conscious and organised, trained and educated in an open class struggle against the entire bourgeoisie". (Collected Works, Vol. 9. p. 29.)

It is the struggle of decades which is now coming to fruition in South Africa, the years of battling against the pass laws, the strikes and bus boycotts, the Defiance Campaign, the Congress of the People, the meetings and demonstrations, the political trials in court rooms, the

sufferings and deaths in prison cells. Out of the crucible of struggle comes the consciousness and determination to overthrow the evil apartheid regime. It is the history of struggle which has established the leadership position of the ANC and the SACP as the engines of revolution. It is the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism which ensures that the people's anger is not wasted in futile gestures, but is more and more consciously planned and directed towards realisable goals.

In the most economically advanced country in Africa, the working class has been tried and tested by history. Development is naturally uneven, but step by step, strike by strike, bullet by bullet, its strength and confidence are growing, together with unity of action between worker and student, young and old, parents and children, and African, Indian and Coloured workers and democratic whites. The conditions are ripe for more intensive action on every front, and it is the duty of the liberation organisations to provide the necessary initiatives and leadership as they have done so successfully in the past.

Our people know that the future belongs to them; the enemy knows that his future is already behind him.

THE LESSON OF THE OLYMPICS

The Moscow Olympics have come and gone, leaving in the minds of participants and spectators from all over the world memories of one of the most stirring and successful events of its kind ever staged. The boycott initiated by the Carter-Thatcher imperialist clique proved a flop, and in no sense was the achievement of the games devalued. Even western commentators had to recognise that the crop of world and Olympic records set could in no way be disparaged, and that had the absentees been present the overall results would not have been greatly altered. It was accepted on all sides that the Soviet hosts had carried out their obligations to the International Olympic Committee with scrupulous attention to detail. Organisation and administration were magnificent. Never have sportsmen been provided with such facilities and care both on and off the field.

Not that the reporting of the Games in the western press was above criticism. Retiring IOC President Lord Killanin himself commented that reading some of the write-ups he sometimes wondered if the journalists were attending the same games as himself, and it was obvious that some journalists had been given instructions to try to destroy in print the impact

of an event which not all the efforts of their governments had been able to sabotage effectively. Did the wind blow too much, it was thanks to the KGB. Did the doors of the Lenin stadium open it was to aid Soviet javelin throwers. Did an Australian triple-jumper fail to win a gold medal it was due to the trickery of a Soviet official. Did a judge make a wrong assessment it was due to dishonesty and not simple error. One wonders what would happen if every wrong line-call in international tennis championships were to be judged in this way.

The intense campaign of the imperialist politicians and press against the Olympics was, of course, no accident, but part of the daily campaign which has been waged against detente ever since the end of the second world war, and against the Soviet Union ever since the 1917 revolution. The possibility of peaceful co-operation between the capitalist and socialist countries and even of joint action by bourgeois and working-class parties to repair the damage caused by the war and open the way to peaceful reconstruction and development was sabotaged, not by the socialist forces, but by the imperialists. The post-war coalition governments of right and left in many European countries were deliberately wrecked on the instructions of the United States as a condition for Marshall Aid. Communists were driven out of government in France and Italy by this means, and it was only the vigilance and militancy of the organised working class which frustrated a right-wing attempt to bring about the same result in Czechoslovakia in 1948. The unity of world journalists in the International Organisation of Journalists and of trade unionists in the World Federation of Trade Unions was broken by right-wing secession, not by any action of the left. The very phrase "iron curtain" was an invention of Goebbels, and it is the most reactionary section of the imperialist powers who have taken over from the Nazis the mission of attempting to isolate and destroy or cripple the socialist countries.

We in South Africa know how the Afrikaner Nationalists have always worked for isolation and exclusivity as a means of maintaining their domination in politics and extending their influence in the economic sphere. This is why there are separate schools, not only for black and white, but also for English and Afrikaans-speaking white children, separate Afrikaans and English teachers' organisations, youth and student organisations, universities, chambers of commerce and industries, cultural organisations etc. The imperialists pursue the same policy on the international stage. It is the socialist countries which initiated the policy of detente which has secured peace between the great powers for so many

decades, while the imperialists have responded with ever-increasing arms budgets and an expansion of their military establishments, bases and alliances throughout the world directed against the Soviet Union.

The Olympic games became a target of the Carter-Thatcher gang not, as they claim, because of Afghanistan, but as part of their cold-war campaign against the Soviet Union and the forces of socialism throughout the world. It took the Soviet Union quite a hard struggle to secure admission to the Olympic movement in the first place, her first appearance being in 1952, since when she has led the world on the international sports scene. Recent years have seen the German Democratic Republic advance to the position of the world's second most powerful sporting nation, and other socialist countries also feature prominently on the Olympics medals list. Even tiny Cuba is able to pose a serious challenge to the United States in many sports.

Attempts by the imperialists to put socialist sporting successes down to dragooning and steroids simply don't wash. What the Olympics have proved — just as Soviet ballet and other artistic achievement prove in the cultural sphere — is that the socialist countries can provide facilities, training and opportunities for mass participation which are impossible in the world of capitalism, where everything is dominated by the profit motive. The decline of the capitalist world in the sporting arena is merely a reflection of the decline of the capitalist world in the economic arena. The failure to win medals goes side by side with the failure to provide jobs and social security or to control inflation.

The capitalist world genuinely fears free and open competition with the socialist countries. This is why, in general, reporting of what goes on in the Soviet Union is so hostile and tendentious, its faults magnified and its achievements belittled or simply ignored. And this is why the Carter-Thatcher clique took the decision this year to attempt to smash the Olympic Games once and for all, more especially because for the first time they were being held in a socialist country. Had their boycott campaign succeeded in its objective, the result would have been the permanent fragmentation of world sports just as the unity of the journalists' and trade union organisations had been smashed in the early post-war period. There would have been two separate centres of world sport, and open and free comparison and competition between the capitalist and socialist world would once more have been rendered impossible. A vital forum for the maintaining of friendly contact between the peoples of the world would have been destroyed.

This is what the imperialist warmongers wanted. But thanks to the good sense of the majority of the world's athletes, sports organisations and, indeed, governments, they failed — and failed miserably. It was the boycotters, not the socialist countries, who were isolated by the Moscow Games. It was the sporting prowess of the absentees, not that of the participants, which was devalued — and not many of the athletes who stayed away are grateful to their governments for that. The claim that half the countries of the world supported the Carter-Thatcher call for a boycott is nonsense. Almost as many countries took part as in Montreal in 1976, and most of those who stayed away did so for reasons other than the desire to boycott. Many of them frankly admitted they did not have athletes up to the standard required.

For us it is a matter of great satisfaction that most countries in Africa refused to play the imperialist game and asserted the desire for world unity in the sporting arena. The Supreme Council for Sports in Africa refused to adopt a boycott stance, its President, Mr Abraham Ordia, declaring: "Africa cannot refuse to go to Moscow just because the USA and Britain are annoyed with the Soviet Union. Whatever the matter, we (Africa) must compete in the Moscow Games in full force". Only five national Olympic Committees in Africa turned down invitations to attend the Moscow Games for political reasons. Most African countries were represented, many of them by athletes who performed with distinction and were amongst the top medal winners. Especially significant was the presence of a 65-member team from newly-independent Zimbabwe, whose hockey team carried off the gold medal.

Interviewed shortly after arriving in Moscow, John Madzima, the head of the Zimbabwe delegation, expressed "my profound gratitude to the hosts of the Olympics for the warm and cordial reception. As is generally known, the first impressions are the strongest and will remain in our memory for a long time since this is our first encounter with the Soviet reality."

He was "immensely impressed" with Moscow and the games facilities, he said. "We also highly value the opportunity to meet Soviet people and people from other countries, an opportunity to exchange views and discuss different aspects of today's life".

Stressing Zimbabwe's resolute opposition to the boycott movement, Mr Madzima said: "We are an independent and non-aligned country and we shall not allow anyone to impose his will on us. I am convinced that the Moscow Olympics will be a great success and will tangibly promote the

international Olympic Movement and stronger mutual understanding among all peoples".

Peace, not war, is what the peoples of the world desire — co-operation, not confrontation. The Olympics have helped the process of detente, and will continue to do so in future. We are glad Africa made its contribution to the success of the Games, and are confident that in the near future our liberated South Africa and liberated Namibia will be able to join in.

THE FIGHT FOR PRESS FREEDOM

In pursuit of its "total strategy" for survival, the Botha regime is making a total assault on the truth and the freedom of the press. During the last session of Parliament, further laws were passed restricting the right of the press to report on various matters allegedly connected with the "security of the state", and there are now over 90 laws on the statute book limiting the freedom of journalists to report on what is happening in South Africa. In particular it is practically impossible for anything to be written (or spoken) about the police, prisons, the army, atomic energy, oil supplies, munitions and related matters without the permission of the authorities. One recalls that news about South Africa's invasion of Angola in 1975/76 was suppressed in South Africa, although the whole outside world knew all about it, and to this day South Africa engages in repeated acts of aggression against its neighbours of which its citizens only become aware when casualty lists (incomplete and misleading though they are) are issued by the Defence Department. Following the killing of Steve Biko in prison, a law was passed last year making it an offence to publish anything which might prejudice, influence or anticipate the findings of an inquest. Following the passage of the second Police Amendment Act this year, the state may find it unnecessary in future even to hold inquests, as it has become an offence to publish the names of detainees taken into custody without trial by the security police. In future people may simply disappear without anyone having the right to know about it. Assurances by ministers that relatives will always be informed have no legal backing and are worthless — there are plenty of instances already recorded of detainees vanishing into thin air while relatives go from prison to prison in search of evidence to refute police claims that they have no record of their arrest in the first place.

The army and the police are merciless institutions highly trained and equipped with the most sophisticated weapons and machinery of torture and death. Their function is to defend apartheid, and the regime is determined to free their hands for whatever kind of atrocity is required of them. In addition to the curbs on the press, a wide-ranging censorship is exercised over the population under the Publications Act, in terms of which the circulation of tens of thousands of books, journals and pamphlets, both local and foreign, is prohibited. Attempts at control are also being extended to foreign journalists, whose dispatches are regularly monitored. Earlier this year eight West German journalists who had been invited to South Africa by the Christian churches were refused visas by the regime. And when the law proves inadequate, the authorities have during the disturbances this year simply declared various areas "out of bounds" and refused journalists, both local and foreign, the right of access to find out what is going on. A number of journalists, especially members of the Writers' Association of South Africa (WASA), were amongst those detained without trial.

Not satisfied with the clamp-down on freedom of information already imposed, the Minister of Justice and of the Interior, Mr Schlebusch, announced by proclamation in the Government Gazette at the end of June the appointment of a commission of inquiry into the mass media. The terms of inquiry of the commission are "to inquire into and report on the question whether the conduct of and the handling of matter by the mass media meet the needs and interests of the South African community and the demands of the times, and, if not, how they can be improved". Both the nature of the terms and of the personnel appointed presage a report to suit the needs, not of the community, but of the racist regime and the imposition of further restrictions.

The safety of our people, and especially of our political prisoners, demands that every effort be made to rouse mass opposition at home and abroad to the attempts of the government to destroy freedom of information and to hide their crimes against the people under the blanket of security. "When it comes to press freedom — or freedom of any other kind", said *Sunday Express* editor Rex Gibson in a speech last May, "the meek will not inherit the earth. They will have to fight for it".

Yes, indeed. The fight for the freedom of the press concerns not only journalists but the liberation movement as a whole. Freedom of information is essential to the furtherance of our cause and we simply cannot allow this struggle to be lost by default.

THE PEOPLE RISE UP!

by Inquilab

"We the people of South Africa know that there is no power that can withstand our organised force.

"Despite the most savage repression, we have demonstrated in action our inexhaustible capacity to develop new forms of mass struggle, uniting more and more people and extending mass actions and resistance to all fronts.

"Wherever we are, at all levels and in all fields — at our work places in the urban and rural areas where we live, in the schools, universities, churches, in cultural and sports clubs — we must mobilise ourselves and confront the enemy as never before.

"We must support every act of resistance and draw it into the main stream of resistance".

This incisive call made to the South African people from the augmented meeting of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party in November 1979 ushered in the new decade of the 1980s. Coming long before the recent mass upsurges, it is a remarkable testimony to the accuracy of the SACP's scientific analysis of the objective and subjective

conditions and clear guidance for the further advance of the struggle for national and social emancipation.

The 1970s were characterised by imperialism's arrogant belief that Southern African would remain within its sphere of influence. The infamous Memo 39, which was the cornerstone of United States policy in Southern Africa, clearly outlined imperialist strategy to control and direct the process of liberation in the sub-continent. The basic premise of this document was that minority domination was unchallengeable, that the west should give open support to the South African, Rhodesian and Portuguese regimes and that the genuine liberation movements of the oppressed people should be isolated.

The liberation of Angola and Mozambique and the escalation of the struggles in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa relegated Memo 39 to the dustbin of history. However, the fact that imperialism suffered major setbacks in Southern Africa and was unble to impose its will by traditional methods does not mean that it has given up its global policy of domination and exploitation. It now has to seek other ways to achieve this. In the last few years there have been increased efforts in Southern Africa to seek such new methods to slow down, halt or even reverse the revolutionary gains achieved by the people.

Imperialism is now loudly campaigning for "human rights", and has pledged its "support for self determination, majority rule, equal rights and human dignity for the peoples of Southern Africa" (Kissinger speaking in Lusaka, April 76). However this is to be achieved by "peaceful" and "non-violent" means. At the same time a mass hysterical campaign of anti-Sovietism and anti-Cubanism is being generated in a calculated attempt to isloate the oppressed people and their organisations from their natural allies, i.e., the socialist countries, the non-aligned countries and progressive and democratic forces in the capitalist countries. One aspect of this new strategy has been the orchestrated campaign to rehabilitate the SA regime, bring it in out of the cold and project it as a bastion of anti-communism.

Botha is now presented as a "reasonable" man and his "new vision" is hailed as a step in the right direction. Systematically a myth is being created that apartheid is being dismantled. Subterfuges like the Wiehahn and Riekert reports are made to appear as reforms. The reality is that "under the guise of reformism" the ruling class is engaged in far-reaching manoeuvres to intensify race oppression and exploitation. The decade of the 80's is the target date for achieving the "final solution" (CC statement

Nov. 79). The message is clear: apartheid is not changing nor can the ruling class change it voluntarily. This can only come about by a people's revolutionary struggle. The militant mass actions of hundreds and thousands of oppressed people in South Africa have shattered any illusions of stability in SA.

Already in 1973 the NEC of the ANC reviewing the situation, stated:

> "The present historical moment in the struggle for the forcible seizure of power by the Black majority in our country is characterised by an accelerated revolutionary upsurge of mass-based activity which has given a new impetus to the polarisation of forces."

It went on to say:

> "Our revolutionary movement as the vanguard of the revolution must step up its activities inside the country, teaching the oppressed masses new and revolutionary methods of struggle."

For years the organisations of the people, the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress, have been banned and have had to work under conditions of fascist terror and repression. In the course of the struggle the liberatory organisations have suffered many setbacks but with a single-minded determination they have continued to carry out legal, semi-legal and illegal work. The objective has been the mobilisation and organisation of the masses, the general raising of political consciousness and the intensification of mass activities through strikes, protests, demonstrations and all other forms of militant mass activity — all this to lay the basis for the unfolding of a people's war. Armed with this correct strategy and tactics all-round resistance in South Africa continues to grow, involving ever growing numbers of people from all sections of the oppressed people. Today the main feature of the current political situation in SA is the indisputable fact that strategically the initiative has shifted into the hands of the oppressed.

A few months after the massacres of June 1976 Premier Vorster warned that "the storm has not struck yet. We are only experiencing the whirlwinds that go before it". Events since then have proved him right. We have experienced a growing escalation in the confrontation between the oppressor and the oppressed. The beginning of the decade of the 1980's has been characterised by some of the most magnificent acts of militant mass resistance ever experienced in SA. The very foundations of the apartheid regime are being shaken and the alarm bells are also beginning to ring in the board-rooms of multi-national companies in Washington, London, Bonn, Paris, Tokyo and Israel.

The struggles in the decade of the 1970's, the seizure of power in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, and the experience gained by our people in the heat of battle have provided us with a new striking power.

Working Class Power

The black working class, the leading force in the revolution, has been involved in repeated waves of industrial action and strikes in the recent period. With their living standards eroded by inflation and mass unemployment reaching record levels (between 2 and 3 million), it is desperate poverty which is driving the workers to take action. The Natal *Daily News* reported one worker as saying last June:

> "We're going on strike. There is nothing left for us to do. There are people working here who've had to bury their children because they don't get enough money to look after their family".

Most African workers receive wages which are far below the breadline, and more and more of them are turning to direct action to relieve their plight. One striking worker summed it up when he told a newspaper reporter:

> "Our strength lies in the economy. We have the strength to bring the economy to its knees."

Today the regime is facing a sustained attack on its most vulnerable point. Anticipating this development, the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party stated in December 1972:

> " . . . Despite the barrier of repressive legislation which has illegalised strikes and denied the African workers the right to form trade unions more and more workers are taking matters into their own hands. The strike movement is growing in spite of punitive action by the State and employers. The workers are becoming more confident of their strength and more experienced in struggle; organising under the very noses of the repressive forces and maintaining their unity and solidarity in open struggle."

The oppressed toilers of South Africa are responding magnificently to the call of SACTU to make 1980 "The Year for the Mobilisation of the Workers".

It is conservatively estimated that between 1973 and 1976 there were over 800 strikes involving hundreds of thousands of workers. The three general strikes in 1976 involving over 750,000 workers was a further development in the strike movement. In recent months the strikes of Fattis and Monis, Volkswagen, Sea Harvest, Goodyear Tyre, Frame, Coca-Cola, the red meat industry, the Johannesburg municipality, Sasolburg etc. are just some of the scores of actions by workers that are affecting production in all parts of the country. In June 1980 Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape was

"crippled by strikes", with at one stage more than 9 major factories brought to a standstill — Volkswagen, Goodyear, SKF Bearings, Link Construction, National Standard Wire, Gubb and Inggs, Cape of Good Hope Woolcombers, Civic Construction and Gastro Industries.

A notable feature of many of these stoppages has been their duration and the fact that the demands of the workers have gone beyond "pure" trade union demands for higher wages and better working conditions. Strikes have been linked with the wider issues of trade union recognition and apartheid, demonstrating the dialectical interconnection between national and class oppression.

The strikes have also demonstrated the developing class consciousness and militance of the workers, and the solid support the strikers have received from the community. New trade unions have been formed in many industries and the workers are showing growing confidence in the face of all forms of repression devised by the bosses and the state.

The militant strike action by the workers had a snowballing effect. Soon after the outbreak of the Ford strike in the Eastern Cape, workers at other factories followed their example, for example 1,000 workers at General Tyre, St Adams Paper Mills etc. The striking workers from Ford and General Tyre held joint meetings and planned a common strategy.

Another interesting feature is that once strikes started an increasing number of workers joined the union. For example, a week after the start of the strike at General Tyre, membership of the United Auto Workers (African) had risen from 50% of the workforce to 80%. At the height of the disturbances Uitenhage was declared an "operational" area by the police, and reporters were barred from entering the whole of the industrial area, black townships and even some of the white areas. But support for the workers grew and unprecedented support came from all sections of the community. A "Save the Workers Fund" was started and a "Dismissed Workers' Committee" established. Donations were received from all parts of the country.

As solidarity of the workers and the general community grew it became more difficult for the bosses to find replacements for the strikers, and not all employers are enthusiastic about the tactic of deporting striking workers to the "homelands", the standard treatment in the past. This explains the rapidity with which many of the strikes were settled before they could spread wider, whilst even in cases where bosses at first adopted an intransigent attitude and the strike became long-drawn-out, workers' unity and community backing eventually forced the bosses to accept

settlements favourable to the workers.

Other significant features of many strikes were the growth of:

1. Unity of action between workers and boycotting students;
2. Unity of action between migrant contract workers and workers living "permanently" in the towns;
3. Unity of action between African, Coloured and Indian workers.

On the other hand, the anti-black stance of many white workers was a negative feature in some of the strikes.

Another important lesson from the strikes is that the workers are insisting on their right to elect their own representatives, and are refusing to operate the machinery foisted on them by the bosses and the government. In the meat strike, for example, the dispute began when the management at Table Bay Cold Storage in Cape Town refused to recognise the 6-man committee elected by the workers. Management insisted that the workers must form a liaison committee registered with the Department of Manpower Utilisation. The workers, however, rejected this because the liaison committees apply only to African workers and exclude Coloureds. The workers wanted non-racial committees and they also objected to the fact that management nominees served on the liaison committees. The union involved, the Western Province General Workers' Union, has not only refused to bow down to government control by registering but has also been in the forefront of the battle for free trade union organisation and recognition.

Another significant strike was the one at KROMCO, an apple co-operative in the Western Cape involving about 30 farmers. The apples are picked and marketed during the season from February to April and most of the workers are only employed for this period. They are especially vulnerable because of this, and also because they depend on the company for their accommodation. A large proportion of the workers are women aged between 15 and 22. Many of the workers are contract workers while the rest are drawn from the surrounding areas of Elgin and Grabouw.

At the beginning of this year the Food and Canning Workers' Union started organising the workers in the co-operative. In response the management nominated a liaison committee.

A dispute arose over wages. The workers were demanding that they be paid the R26 a week promised by management. Management insisted on paying them R13-R15 a week. On April 25,100 workers refused to work until the pay dispute was settled. The police were called in and 42 workers arrested on charges of public violence. The trial was held in camera

because 3 of the arrested were under 15 and many of the others under 18. Several claimed that they had been beaten and subjected to electric shock treatment.

The contract workers were forcibly deported to the Transkei. The mood of the people was very angry and a meeting called by the Coloured Labour Party was attended by over 2,000 people. Hundreds of boycotting students also joined the meeting, which demanded that the workers be reinstated on their own terms. In the face of the growing pressure and the developing solidarity between the workers and the rest of the community management for the first time agreed to meet representatives of the Food and Canning Workers' Union. After 5 days of negotiations an agreement was reached which the union considers to be a success under the circumstances.

These are only some examples of the scores of strikes which have taken place throughout the country. The government's reaction to the strikes is that they are all subversive and that the workers are being manipulated by agitators. After the strike wave of 1973 the Minister of Labour stated:

> "These strikes in Natal are following a pattern which indicates that they are not purely connected with higher wages . . . they are planned actions and the strikes are being used to achieve more than just an increase of wages . . . the conduct of the workers shows the agitation for trade union rights offers no solution and is only a smokescreen behind which are other motives . . . "

In June of 1980 the head of the security police announced that the politicised workers were influenced by overseas and exile organisations including the World Federation of Trade Unions. This was the argument used by the government to justify the invoking of the Fund Raising Act of 1979 to prevent the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) from receiving funds from abroad or from internal sources — an action which was aimed at limiting the unions' ability to give the workers some strike pay. But unity of action of all black workers has this year reached new levels. Africans, Coloureds and Indians have fought shoulder to shoulder, and on occasions members of unregistered unions have co-ordinated action with blacks in registered unions or TUCSA-affiliated unions.

Workers' unity has created a favourable situation for intensified efforts to unionise greater numbers of black workers, and to weaken the influence of the TUCSA leadership over the rank and file. It is estimated that of TUCSA's membership of 252,734, Africans number 22,122, Coloureds and Indians 171,747 and that only 59,865 are whites. The black trade unionists within TUCSA must be won over to the side of genuine non-

racial trade unionism and refuse to be fobbed off with the "parallelism" practised by TUCSA.

The strikes have once again exposed the close links between the bosses and the state. They have also exposed the government's so-called labour reforms as a complete sham. At almost all strikes the police and riot control units were called in. State representatives and police were present at almost all "negotiations". On several occasions the police used brutal force against the workers resulting in loss of life and many injuries. Many leading activists were victimised, arrested or forced to flee the country. After June 13 all meetings were banned and this seriously affected mobilisation and planning of collective strategy. Many workers, mainly trade unionists and shop stewards, were endorsed out of the urban area. Propaganda material of strikers was banned and cadres distributing material were arrested or harassed.

Youth and Students

At another level our youth and students continue to confront the apartheid system and new organisational forms and tactics are being developed to meet the challenge of today. Clearly the mass bannings of 19 legal organisations in 1977 have not had the desired effects. Today in every part of our country several youth and student organisations such as AZAPO, AZASO, COSAS etc are emerging. Many of them espouse a democratic anti-racist and anti-imperialist perspective and therefore objectively form part of the genuine forces of liberation.

The current boycott activities of our youth and students are a bold manifestation of the uncompromising and militant spirit of our people. A motto of the boycott was "Not only must we speak of freedom, but we must also be prepared to *act* for freedom." Hundreds of thousands of youth and students representing all sections of the oppressed people — Africans, Coloureds and Indians and including a growing number of democratic whites — are unequivocally demonstrating their rejection of the whole apartheid system. The current wave of action is not new or spontaneous but is a continuation of the events of 1976. Moreover it must be seen in the context of the deepening crisis of the apartheid regime and the all-round confrontation between the oppressed and the regime.

Marais Steyn, Minister of Coloured Relations and Indian Affairs, predictably proclaimed: "Agitators are using problems that do not exist for their own political purposes". From the Cape Province, from the Transvaal, the OFS, from the so-called homelands, the message defiantly

proclaimed by the people is "APARTHEID NO! FREEDOM YES!" Obviously Steyn's "thought processes are slow" and he is unable to see that the cause of the problem is the oppressive and exploitative system of apartheid, of which education is one aspect. This is clearly defined in various leaflets and pamphlets produced in the course of the frequent struggles. One leaflet entitled "Focus on education" states:

> "The society in which we live is an exploitative society. We are denied basic human rights. Millions of South Africans live lives filled with starvation and want. The ordinary workers who work in the mines, on the farms and on the factory floor produce all the goods in our society. They however are paid starvation wages while the bosses make fat profits . . . This is thus an exploitative society where a few parasites live off the sweat of the workers. Education is one part of this society. Education is thus designed to reinforce this society."

A leaflet "Whither Oppression" put out by the Muslim students says:

> "Over 500,000 students from universities, colleges and schools are boycotting classes, highlighting once again the fallacies and inadequacies of the SA education system. Education is seen as being in the ideological control of the state, and designed to prepare people for the cheap labour market, as well as to indoctrinate children with the belief that apartheid is the only acceptable policy for SA. It has however to be realised that the students are not only protesting against the education system but against the oppressive and unjust apartheid system as a whole . . . "

Hundreds of institutions throughout the country have been affected by the boycott and schools, teachers' training colleges and all 5 Black universities were closed. Almost all major schools and colleges in the Cape Peninsula, Eastern Cape and Johannesburg have been affected. Despite the negative role played by Buthelezi over 10,000 students boycotted classes in KwaMashu. In the Transkei several schools were affected and in the wake of the spreading boycott in June 1980 the Transkei government called up the civil defence force to reinforce permanent defence servicemen and the police to carry out security patrol duties in Umtata. Their duties entailed daily protecting of government buildings, administration offices, ministerial complexes, banks and other strategic points. This coincided with a declaration of a state of emergency, during which a strict dusk to dawn curfew was enforced.

Within a week of the boycott campaign mass rallies involving thousands of students, workers and parents were organised throughout the country. The mood and atmosphere of the time are vividly captured by a report that stated:

"These days children are silent, families are torn apart, older and younger students are detained, their families are victimised and harassed, the discos are empty, the usual Saturday night TV comedy 'All The Family' is banned by the students at home."

The institutions have been daubed with posters and slogans such as "Down with gutter education", "Don't force us to supply cheap labour for capitalism".

Even some white schools were affected, for example at the white Parktown High School in Johannesburg the walls were daubed with slogans such as — "ANC-SWAPO"; "Equal ANC equal education"; "boycott classes for non-racial education — ANC".

Committees were established to co-ordinate activities and give collective leadership — the comittee of 81 in the Cape, the Durban based Natal Students Action Committee, the Committee of Ten, the Teacher Action Committee, the Parent-Student Committees etc. All decisions regarding the boycott were taken at such co-ordinating meetings after full discussions.

From the beginning the students linked their campaign with the struggle of the community as a whole and strong links were forged with the workers and parents. A leaflet "From the Schools to the People" stated:

"The wider and deeper the present boycott action has developed, the more we have become aware of one of the main lessons of 1976. This lesson was simply that *we should not allow any serious action by Black students to become isolated in the schools*. Every student action to be successful has to be linked up with the struggle of the rest of the oppressed people . . .

If we allow the struggle to be isolated in the schools, we shall find ourselves complaining to and petitioning the apartheid-capitalist rulers for no more than repairs to apartheid buildings in apartheid ghettoes and group areas. If this were all we were interested in, we could hardly talk of 'struggle'. Such matters the rulers are only too glad to 'put right'."

The leaflet concludes by saying:

"An injury to one is an injury to all. We have to learn to sacrifice, for there is no freedom without sacrifice. It is therefore of very great importance for the success of our present action that we go out to the organisations of the people: to the PTA's, to the residents, civic, tenants associations, to the churches and to other organisations in the community. We must explain to them our struggle and how we see it linked up with the whole struggle for national liberation.

'From the schools to the people — this must be our slogan.' "

G. Sewpersad, the president of the Natal Indian Congress, speaking to a mass meeting of over 3,000 in Durban, said that the boycott had politicised and brought thousands of students into the struggle. He went on to say:

"While the students have made demands for an end to discrimination in education they must be mindful of the fact that discrimination in education cannot be removed until discrimination in South African society is removed."

He went on to link the student struggle with that of the industrial actions and various other campaigns and called for a united and concerted onslaught against apartheid.

No Generation Gap

The fact that each generation learnt from the other and that there was a mutual interaction of experience, leadership, guidance, enthusiasm and dedication is vividly portrayed in a letter written to the press by a "concerned mother".

"As a parent I am very worried about my child who is boycotting about the conditions at school.

"My son tells me that they have no books, that the classrooms are cold, that they are being trained for a cheap labour market.

"What is all this about?

"I am very tired when I get home at night, there is so much to do and then I must still go to the mass meeting.

"What do these children know about suffering? So many people have tried to change things before but nothing has happened.

"What if they get shot or are put in jail? I work hard to give them their schooling, that is all that I can give them.

"My son says that if we had tried in the past to change the conditions in our country, they would not be doing so today. I feel guilty about this, perhaps we did not try hard enough.

"He says that we must sacrifice, they sing 'Freedom isn't free' at the meeting. My son gets up, he is only in Standard 8 and he speaks to hundreds of people at the meeting, he is so confident of himself. I see him through tears in my eyes telling the audience about the problems at school, how education is not separate from the struggle for freedom. That we do not have political rights and that our bosses underpay us and treat us badly, I begin to understand what he is talking about.

"They say that we must stand together in our communities, that a people united will not be defeated, that we should organize ourselves to change things and that we should talk to other people about these things.

"I can understand it all, but I feel scared. My neighbour did not want to come tonight. The people are clapping, they are calling for nominations for a parent-student committee. I want to volunteer, I see my son's big black eyes looking at me, he is trying to tell me to put up my hand. I find my hand being raised slowly, his face lights up into a broad smile, the people are clapping."

When the students' boycotts and workers' strikes coincided there were joint solidarity meetings and students actively participated in raising funds for strikers, in door to door canvassing rallying support for both issues and

giving general assistance. The students understood that the struggle of the workers was the most fundamental one. A statement issued by the student committee of 81 said:

> The committee also realises that the students and the general community are starting to see the boycott in its historical perspective, and the students understand that the real power lies with the workers and it is for the workers to make the fundamental demands."

Having digested the experiences of 1976 the students evolved new tactics. Marches were discouraged unless agreed upon by the collectives. Students were asked to go to schools but not to participate in "normal" classes. Arrangements were made to organise comprehensive alternative lecture programmes consisting of talks on politics, economics, education, sport etc. The students learnt freedom songs and a great ideal of new protest songs and poetry was composed. Inequality of education, white privilege, hope for the future and the strength to be derived from unity were recurrent themes.

Despite all their attempts to keep their actions non-violent and the taking of all measures to ensure that the enemy was not given any pretext to unleash terror reprisals, the students were subjected to vicious and brutal attacks by the police. They used dogs, sneeze machines, batons, guns etc and hundreds were injured.

On June 17, at the height of the boycott and at the end of a two-day general strike which is estimated to have had an 80% success in the Cape, the trigger-happy police, freed from restraint by their chiefs "shoot to kill" order, callously opened fire on unarmed demonstrators in the Cape. An eyewitness described the scene: "Six police vans pulled up and police just poured out shooting like mad. No one was throwing stones but there was a huge crowd standing around." Many areas in the Peninsula were declared "operational areas" thus effectively preventing any full exposure of this latest act of genocide. However it is conservatively estimated that over 60 people were killed and hundreds injured.

The people's anger erupted and in at least 9 different places police had to cordon off the areas and close down roads. Firemen were unable to get to the scene of more than 20 fires because of the angry and hostile mood of the masses. Several police vehicles were damaged and many police injured. An eyewitness reported that "main roads looked like battle fields with burnt out cars at every intersection and makeshift barricades every 30 yards. Most of the shops and schools were burnt out in the townships".

In response to the massive international and national outcry against this

latest act of murder, the "moderate" and "reasonable" P.W. Botha warned that the time had now come for the State and the police to put their foot down and that if they were forced to do so people would be hurt very much more. He concluded that all further racial "unrest" would be ruthlessly "crushed".

"Moderates" Exposed

The boycotts also exposed the opportunist and reactionary elements within the oppressed community. In general, while the major teachers' associations supported the students, certain principals and teachers actively worked against the boycott. Individuals working in dummy institutions found themselves opposing the students. Buthelezi and Inkatha played a major role in trying to smash the boycott in Natal. Buthelezi, condemning the boycotts, said that it was criminal to give children false hopes that there were any prospects of a Frelimo-type takeover in SA. Speaking at the 6th annual conference of Inkatha Buthelezi called for the setting up of training camps in which impis would be trained to keep order in Black society. He went on to say that Inkatha would not tolerate continued boycotts or the disruption of schools. He also threatened to close down the university of Zululand and to set up a new university which would reflect Inkatha's aims and aspirations.

Buthelezi introduced a new and dangerous element in the conflict when he made the accusation that "certain Black lawyers were behind the boycott of classes in KwaMashu and that the lawyers were receiving overseas funds for defending people in cases that arose from incidents such as the school boycott. The 3 lawyers L. Skweyiya, J. Poswa and G Mxenge were accused of being foreign "Xhosa agitators".

In a similar vein the Black alliance (in which Buthelezi plays a leading role) echoed the government's line by warning:

> "Students should guard against being manipulated by opportunists who exploit their legitimate grievances to achieve their own political ends by pitting parents against children and children against parents".

It is difficult to find any substantial difference between such statements and those made by the enemy. Following the earlier threats by Buthelezi, Y.S. Chinsamy (chairman of the South African Indian Council and leader of the Reform Party, a member of the Black Alliance) said that he and others would have no alternative but to resort to measures to stop "agitators" intimidating students wanting to return to school. Subsequent events proved that these were no empty threats. People involved in the

boycott campaign were terrorised by gangs of thugs. Students were forcibly taken to "meet" with Kwazulu representatives. In early June clashes occurred in KwaMashu between Inkatha supporters and boycotting children. Parents supporting the boycott were viciously beaten up. According to a Durban attorney: "The violence has reached endemic proportions. There are crowds of people hunting in vigilante groups". He went on to say that for their own safety children had had to leave their homes and sleep in the veld. Despite this negative and counter-revolutionary role of Inkatha it is estimated that over 10,000 children in KwaMashu were involved in boycott actions and they received the support of many parents and workers.

The recent past has seen the politicisation of a new generation. New leaders have emerged from the people and the oppressed communities have never been as united as today. As the overall confrontation sharpens there is no doubt that an increasing number of youth and students will join the underground movement and Umkhonto we Sizwe. Through its "total war strategy" the regime has hastened the process of militarisation of the entire SA society and new and more repressive measures are being introduced. This desperation on the part of the regime is a reflection of their growing realisation that they are facing a "total onslaught" from the people. Today, the liberation movement, spearheaded by the ANC, is emerging as the only genuine alternative to the regime.

The nationwide "Free Mandela" campaign is one manifestation of this. To the oppressed people Mandela's name is synonymous with their aspirations for a non-racial democratic society based on the Freedom Charter. The campaign is being supported by the broadest spectrum of political, religious, cultural, community, sporting, youth and student organisations. The extent of this is reflected by the fact that the annual meeting of the Afrikaanse Skrywersgilde called for the release of all political prisoners. Professor Andre Brink the chairman said that this was connected with the Mandela campaign. Even the South African Foundation has called for Mandela's release.

Broadly based Free Mandela committees have been established in many areas. Mass meetings have been attended by crowds of 3000-4000. The campaign has been linked to the campaign for the release of all political prisoners and to the concept of a future South Africa based on the ideals enshrined in the Freedom Charter, blown-up versions of which have been exhibited at meetings and rallies. Hundreds of leaflets have been distributed and thousands have signed the petition demanding his release.

"Free Mandela" T-shirts were produced and widely sold until banned by the regime. Songs and poetry have been composed for the campaign; for example, the university of Durban-Westville produced a song to the tune of "John Brown's body . . . " and a text reading "Nelson Mandela shall be king and wear the crown when the Black revolution comes".

The regime has adopted various tactics to smash the campaign. Many activists connected with the campaign have been arrested, and those caught distributing leaflets and petitions have been charged under various laws. Journals and leaflets dealing with the issue have been banned. The regime's fears are reflected in the reasons given to the Institute of Race Relations for the banning of the April issue of their journal. The regime wrote: "To plead for the release of Mandela is to propagate the aims of the banned ANC". The article on Mandela was considered to be prejudicial to the safety of the State, peace and goodwill.

When Mandela was sentenced, in his statement from the dock he defiantly said: "I will still be moved by my dislike of the race discrimination against my people when I come out from serving my sentence to take up again, as best as I can, the struggle for the removal of those injustices until they are finally abolished once and for all".

It is this spirit of no compromise and no surrender which has inspired generations and today inspires the campaign for the release of Mandela and all other political prisoners. Mandela has been a beacon of inspiration even from within prison.

Prisons Minister Le Grange recently told Parliament that Mandela "will never be released because he has not changed his views. He still has liaison with his banned organisation". In Mandela's message to the South African people smuggled out of Robben Island and published earlier this year he confidently proclaimed: "We face the future with confidence. For the guns that serve apartheid cannot render it unconquerable. Those who live by the gun will perish by the gun."

The Free Mandela campaign coincides with the commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the Freedom Charter, thousands of copies of which have been distributed throughout the country. Many organisations have publicly accepted the Charter as the alternative programme for South Africa. An article in the *Star* (28/6/80), posing the question "What is the contemporary relevance of the Charter?" stated:

> "First that it remains the programme of the political organisation which probably enjoys more legitimacy than any other amongst the Black people in the country. And, second that despite all attempts by the authorities to alter the

basic framework of reference for Black politics, the most widely accepted alternative to the status quo is still couched in terms of a unitary, multi-racial and majoritarian democracy".

The *Sunday Post* published the full text of the Charter, which was thus brought into the homes of hundreds of thousands of its readers.

These militant mass activities developing at all levels are given a further impetus by the fact that the organisational and combat capacity of our underground movement and its People's Army MK is steadily being consolidated and strengthened. Today, more than at any other time since the launching of the armed struggle in 1961, the liberation movement is not only able to sustain the enemy's onslaught but is hitting back politically and militarily. In January 1977, the then Minister of Police Kruger, waving a Kalashnikov, elatedly told Parliament that "urban terrorism is totally finished." Within 5 months he was forced to admit that "today our enemies are no longer far away but on our doorstep". He went on to warn that "it would be the utmost of self delusion to maintain that all is well and that there is no reason to warn our people that difficult times lie ahead . . . "

The Underground in Action

Since then in various parts of South Africa underground units of the liberation movement are carrying out an increasing number of activities, both armed and non-armed. The majority of these have not been reported. However the extent of this activity is reflected by the regime's admission that they have not been able to destroy the SACP and the ANC and that they are working "around the clock" to arrest underground units that are carrying out attacks against enemy installations and personnel.

In June 1978 Zeitsman (than head of the security police) announced that an "estimated 4000 Blacks (mostly members of the ANC) are currently undergoing military training" and that "South Africa was in a state of war". He also revealed that several clashes had taken place between the security forces and ANC guerrillas in the Eastern Transvaal and other border areas, and that a number of trained and highly equipped ANC guerrillas were returning to the country. "The ANC is everywhere", complained the Minister of Police.

Since 1979 there has been an increase in armed clashes. In February 1979 a police patrol was ambushed and 2 policemen gunned down; in August 1979 an MK unit confronted the enemy's elite task force and counter-insurgency unit which was also assisted by the Bophuthatswana

police. The battle took place near Rustering, 75 miles from Pretoria, and lasted for several hours. The enemy used helicopters and planes and sprayed the area with gunfire, napalm, defoliants and teargas. The fighting was very fierce and it is estimated that at least 10 enemy personnel were killed. In October 1979 another "major clash" occurred in the area between Vryburg and Mafeking. The recent attacks on 2 Soweto police stations and the rocket attack on the Booysens police station in a white suburb of Johannesburg have opened a new chapter of the armed onslaught against enemy installations and personnel.

In this period there has also been a growing escalation in the number of sabotage attacks and according to newspaper reports the guerrillas are showing a "high level of training and sophistication". The brilliant and daring attacks carried out earlier this year against SA's major oil from coal plants once again highlighted this. Bombs and mines were planted at 3 refineries setting 7 storage tanks ablaze and causing damage conservatively estimated to be over £4 million. The well planned and co-ordinated attacks were on a SASOL 1 plant at Sasolburg, 40 miles south of Johannesburg, on a nearby conventional refinery, and on another oil from coal plant at Secunda, 185 miles north east of Johannesburg. The explosions caused South Africa's largest ever fire flames shooting more than 3,000 feet into the sky. The area was illuminated like "daylight". The explosions rocked homes for miles around and the flames were visible 50 miles away. The following day bombs were found at the offices of the US multinational corporation Fluor, which is the major collaborator in SA's oil from coal project. These "armed propaganda" actions dramatically shattered any remaining illusions of invincibility that the enemy harboured. On the other hand they injected a new sense of confidence and inspiration into the masses.

The increasing number of political trials, largely involving members of the liberation movement spearheaded by the ANC, is a further reflection of the growing development of the all-round struggle in SA. In 1977 there were 95 major political trials involving 40 people. In 1978 there were over 70 major trials. In 1980 there have already been 25 major trials involving 96 people. The accused have been charged with guerrilla activity, having been trained for that purpose or having collaborated with the guerrillas or being recruited or recruiting for military training.

Freedom fighter Solomon Mahlangu's last words as he walked to the gallows were:

> "Do not worry about me. But worry about those who are suffering. My blood will nourish the tree which will bear the fruits of freedom. Tell my people I love them and they must continue the struggle. A Luta continua."

This is a magnificent testimony to the militant spirit and political maturity of those who are today confronting the apartheid system at every level.

At times of revolutionary upsurge it has always been the enemy's strategy to find collaborators and "moderates" within the ranks of the oppressed and exploited masses to deflect them from the course of militant struggle and move them towards compromise and surrender. But today the battle lines are drawn and preparations are far advanced for a determined onslaught for the armed seizure of power. In the words of Mandela, "the time has come that those who wish to be counted amongst the forces of national liberation in our country should extricate themselves from the shifting sands of illusion that we will win our demands by dialogue and conciliation with the fascist regime. Experience has shown that it is only through all forms of militant mass struggle — legal, semi-legal and illegal, armed and non-armed — that genuine national liberation and social emancipation can be won. Today the masses have seized the initiative and through their actions they are becoming the determinants of their destiny.

Revolution is a process determined not by imaginary factors but by objective and subjective conditions. While we must guard against illusions of quick and easy victories, recent events enable us to face the future with confidence. In the words of the resolution adopted at the augmented meeting of the Central Committee of the SACP last November:

> "Despite all the dangers and conflicts which threaten us on all sides, the area of influence of our enemies has steadily contracted during the past few decades. Despite setbacks and desertions, the united front of the socialist countries, the national liberation movements and the international working class has steadily carried forward the banner of social and national revolution. The passage of each decade sees us nearer our ultimate goal, the creation of a classless society on a global scale in which the exploitation of man by man will be brought to an end and where, in the words of the *Communist Manifesto*, "the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."
>
> We stand firm by the tried and tested alliance which history has forged for the benefit of our cause and, armed with the ideological weapon of Marxism Leninism, march forward in the confidence that final victory is in our grasp."

UNITY AGAINST THE WASHINGTON-PRETORIA AXIS

by Henry Winston, National Chairman, C.P.U.S.A.

The magnitude of Carter's hypocrisy in talking about "human rights" as he carries out profits-before-people policies gains new dimensions by the day. From the start of 1980, he and his administration have pushed the country into a series of escalating crises — which also provide a study in contrasts:

At home the contrast is between mounting corporate profits on the one side of the ledger, and mounting inflation, unemployment, plant closings and poverty on the other. For the Black people and other oppressed minorities, the racist brutality of the crisis of existence outstrips even that of the Nixonian era of "benign neglect.".

On an international scale, the administration — backed by the dominant forces in both major parties and by the mass media — has created an indivisibly related pattern of contrasts: To camouflage its efforts to reverse the Iranian and Afghanistan revolutions, the administration makes hysterical allegations of a Soviet "invasion" of Afghanistan. By contrast with this high-decibel, cold-war campaign, the President and his aides have maintained a silence in the face of apartheid-fascist South Africa's military incursions into neighbouring states ruled by

Black majorities. And by contrast with their call to boycott the Olympics, and the trade curbs they have added to existing discriminatory trading policies against the Soviet Union, U.S. ruling circles oppose sanctions against South Africa.

Although U.S. imperialism's global activities provide endless contrasts, they also produce innumerable counterparts: For example, the counterpart of U.S. support to South Africa's aggression against its neighbours can be found in U.S. support (together with its Chinese allies) to the counter-revolutionary "rebels" invading Afghanistan from bases in Pakistan — with the aim of restoring feudal despotism presided over by an Afghan "shah".

As these examples indicate, U.S. imperialism not only supports reactionary regimes as an end in itself, but wherever possible uses them as launching pads for military aggression against their liberated neighbours. This is the reason for the special interest of U.S. ruling circles in the Republic of South Africa, the bastion of imperialism and colonialism — presently presided over by the apartheid-fascist "shah", P.W. Botha — for all of southern Africa.

Action and Abstention

In any period, the activities of U.S. imperialism are replete with examples of contrasts and counterparts. Take, for instance, June 1980.

In that month the U.S. and its NATO allies abstained from voting on a UN Security Council resolution condemning South Africa's latest invasion of Angola, and from one condemning Israel's expansionist aggression in violation of the Palestinians' right to self-determination.

At the same time Secretary of State Muskie was in Malaysia. The purpose of his mission was to stimulate opposition at the coming UN General Assembly to further sanctions against South Africa, as well as to ensure support for continued UN recognition of the fascist Pol Pot clique — now waging armed attacks against liberated Kampuchea from Thailand bases. (Shortly after Muskie returned home, U.S. complicity with the Pol Pol "rebels" was confirmed by the announcement of big shipments of U.S. arms to Thailand, accompanied by reports of stepped-up attacks from Thailand into Kampuchea.)

In that same month Carter went to Lisbon. There he was welcomed by a group of the same generals and politicians driven out of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau by the liberation movements that ended Portugal's colonial empire. While Muskie was trying to preserve all

possible support for the apartheid and the Pol Pot fascists, Carter was seeking maximum support for action against revolutionary forces. The success of Carter's mission was made public when he and the Portuguese Prime Minister — a would-be "born again" colonialist — announced their "shared strategic assessment" of the necessity for political and other measures against the Soviet Union and the Afghan revolution.

Of course, Carter and his Lisbon allies also hold a "shared strategic assessment" regarding the need for maximum support to South Africa, world imperialism's "shared strategic bastion" in southern Africa, and for the Botha regime's invasions into the countries liberated from Portuguese and British colonialism. Naturally, the U.S. President and the Portuguese Prime Minister maintained a public silence on these particular aspects of their "shared" assessment.

By contrast, they openly expressed their "shared strategic assessment" of the events in Iran — thus revealing their shared desire to exploit the situation of the 53 U.S. hostages in order to perpetuate cold-war hysteria. On the other hand, they retreated into silence concerning the 37 political prisoners — including Nelson Mandela — serving life terms on Robben Island, the hundreds "detained" and "banned" each year, as well as the tens of thousands of victims of apartheid-fascism filling South Africa's jails — all hostages of a racist regime that could not exist without support from U.S. and world imperialism.

Trilateralism's Third-Front Objective

The "shared strategic assessment" announced in Lisbon is of course an offshoot of the overall Carter/Brzezinski strategy.

At present this strategy calls for stepping up support to counter-revolution in Afghanistan — with far-reaching objectives: In U.S. imperialism's scheme of things, restoring the feudal despots to power in Afghanistan would not only produce a strategic replacement for the Shah's regime in Iran. It would also help accomplish Trilateralism's *central* goal; i.e., a "shared" strategic front between Western imperialism and China on the Soviet Union's southern flank — a front that would be created if Chinese troops could cross Afghanistan's border.

The Trilateralists envision the co-ordination of such a third front with the NATO/European and Japanese/Pacific front for war against the Soviet Union. At the same time this pivotal new anti-Soviet front would serve as a strategic reinforcement against the liberation struggles in the arc of neo-colonialist crisis, stretching from Afghanistan to Iran, across the

Persian Gulf, to the Mid-east, North Africa — all the way to apartheid South Africa.

In foiling this three-front strategy for war, the Soviet Union's action in support of the Afghan revolution has strategically advanced the cause of world peace and anti-colonial liberation in Africa and other areas.

At the same time, some of U.S. imperialism's NATO allies — faced with anti-war pressures at home as well as inter-imperialist rivalries have shown increasing reluctance to give full support to Washington's nuclear brinkmanship.

One of Washington's most recent acts of brinkmanship is the occupation of Diego Garcia, an island lying in the Indian Ocean off the eastern shores of Africa. Under the pretext of defence against "Soviet aggression", Carter has transformed this island — which properly belongs to Mauritius — into a military facility for launching bombers and troop carriers into the Soviet Union and every area in the arc of neo-colonialist crisis from Afghanistan to southern Africa.

The Organisation of African Unity has denounced the U.S. occupation of Diego Garcia as a threat to Africa, and demanded the island's return to Mauritius. The OAU action once again confirms the fact that the Carter/ Brzezinski anti-Soviet hysteria threatens world peace and social advance.

Crucial New Stage

The "shared strategic assessment" of U.S. imperialism and its NATO allies calls for the use of all possible means — political, economic, military — to deal with the crucial new stage in Africa.

In this new stage, the liberation struggle within the Republic of South Africa is simultaneously decisive to bringing down the last colonial, imperialist stronghold in Africa, and to the outcome of the struggles in southern Africa as a whole.

The special difficulties inherent in the struggles of the South African peoples are illustrated by the contrast between their geographical situation and that of Afghanistan. The powerful neighbour of Afghanistan is the Soviet Union — with an unbroken record of solidarity with all anti-imperialist struggles, whether near its borders or far away. But apartheid-fascist South Africa — reinforced by U.S., British, French and West German imperialism — is the powerful neighbour of Zimbabwe and other Black majority-ruled nations in southern Africa, and the occupier of Namibia. Thus, the liberation struggle inside south Africa has a direct and decisive bearing on the Namibian liberation struggle, and the struggle for

freedom from neo-colonialist domination of the newly-independent nations bordering on South Africa.

To counter the struggles of the Black majority and its Coloured allies inside South Africa, the U.S. and its NATO allies — supported by China — have a two-pronged strategy. On the one hand this strategy produces "new" forms of repression to perpetuate the racist, minority rule in South Africa. At the same time, it focuses on expanding South Africa's economic and military domination over the neighbouring states that have won political independence but are still struggling for economic independence.

Against this background, it is hardly coincidental that the Botha regime's policy-making operation in Pretoria increasingly resembles the one in Washington: In Washington, Brzezinski — Carter's closest foreign policy adviser — heads the national security set-up. In Pretoria, a "revamped American-style Security Council" (in the description of a prominent British publication) is headed by General Magnus Malan — who is Botha's closest adviser. Malan is also the chief architect of the regime's "total war" strategy — whose main feature is control through *neo-apartheid* measures. These measures are touted by the regime as "reforms"; in reality, they reinforce every aspect of the apartheid system of control.

No-Choice Debate

Among South Africa's white minority rulers a debate is in progress. Offering no choice for the oppressed, the debate is between those who say "Adapt and die" and those who say "Adapt or die". From this debate the tactics of the Botha/Malan neo-apartheid strategy of "total war" against the people have emerged.

Central to this strategy is a total "containment" policy for the Black majority: Unemployed workers are forced to stay in the Bantustan "homelands," where tight military control can be more readily exerted. Although massive numbers of unskilled workers are forced into migrancy, even the pattern of their migration is kept under control: They are barred from entering urban areas to seek work unless they are needed as a source of the cheapest labour. At the same time, the regime seeks to use them as a counter-weight to the demands of those workers permitted residence outside the "homelands."

The regime simultaneously exerts control over the employed workers through a myriad of repressive measures — including the ever-present threat of banishment to the "homelands." The regime, which has

multiplied its security budget 10-fold, is totally equipped to put these threats into operation.

Prime targets of the neo-apartheid strategy are the unions of Black workers. Part of the core of the widening liberation fight, they are conducting great struggles. In the past these unions were unrecognised by law. Now the Botha-Malan policy calls for registration of these unions, with the aim of bringing them under the fascist state's total control.

At the same time the regime seeks to create among the minority of skilled Blacks a "privileged" sector (although the "privileges" involved would be but a shadow of what is granted white workers) — in an attempt to use this sector as a buffer against the majority.

Thus, the neo-apartheid labour "reforms" are a central instrument in the Botha/Malan "total war" strategy. In an analysis of this strategy, Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the African National Congress, declares:

> The true meaning of this strategy is now open for all to see. It means total war against the people. To strip a people of their citizenship and make them foreigners in the land of their birth, is nothing less than to make war on them. To impose puppet regimes on them in the Bantustan islands of backwardness . . . is to make war on them . . . The barbarous forced removals practised in the name of the "consolidation" of the Bantustans, the elimination of so-called "black spots" in white South Africa, and the implementation of residential segregation under the Group Areas Act, all amount to a policy of genocide against the people and daily prove that apartheid, far from being dead, is spreading like a cancer bringing pain and death to all it touches. (*The African Communist*, Second Quarter, 1980)

New Stage of Struggle

The "total war" strategy — resulting from the "shared strategic assessment" of Botha/Malan and Carter/Brzezinski — has not achieved its objective of turning back the South African people's struggle. On the contrary, the neo-apartheid measures have given rise to a new stage of struggle in South Africa.

The goals of this struggle are embodied in the Freedom Charter adopted by the people's movement 25 years ago. Led by the African National Congress and the South African Congress of Trade Unions, the fight to achieve these goals will bring about the destruction of the last bastion of racism and neo-colonialism in Africa.

Many years ago W.E.B. DuBois envisioned a world-wide solidarity with the African Liberation struggles. Today his vision is more and more being realized, as people everywhere join the South African freedom fighters in their call for the total economic, political and diplomatic isolation of

South Africa.

It is through the heroic, many-sided struggles of the South African freedom fighters — supported by world-wide anti-imperialist solidarity — that the Freedom Charter's goals will be achieved.

South Africa and U.S.: Crises of Existence

The social consequences of the link between Pretoria and Washington can be seen in many ways in both countries. One particularly vivid illustration of this fact occurred when the blood of Black and Coloured South Africans flowed in Cape Town at the same time that the blood of Afro-Americans stained Miami pavements.

The crisis of existence of the South African Black majority takes place under different conditions from those facing the Black people and the multi-racial, multi-national working class in the United States. Yet both crises occur in a similar international context. The U.S. multi-national corporations profiting from the planned reserves of unemployed in South Africa's fascist-controlled "homelands" are also profiting from Carter's planned pools of unemployed.

The fact that U.S. imperialism and its allies are the enemy of the working people in the United States as well as of the Black majority and its allies in South Africa, is dramatized, for example, by the situation in the U.S. steel industry: Steel plants are closing down in this country, while steel is imported via England and West Germany from South Africa.

To turn this situation around, white workers in Detroit, Pittsburgh and Youngstown must join with Black workers in those cities in support of the Black and Coloured workers of Cape Town, Durban, Johannesburg and Soweto. To do so would advance the mutual interests, the human rights of the majority in each country.

Impact of a Majority-ruled South Africa

If we compelled Washington to reverse its policies and support the world-wide demand for South Africa's total isolation, and to give its support to the anti-fascist struggle instead of to the apartheid-fascist regime, there would soon be black majority rule in that country — advancing the interests of the peoples of Africa, the United States and the entire world.

The transformation of South Africa into a powerful anti-imperialist nation would assure Namibia's liberation. It would free all the politically independent countries of southern Africa from neo-colonial dependence and the threat of aggression. With South Africa as a bastion of support for

social progress, all the countries of southern Africa would gain a new and realizable perspective for overcoming underdevelopment and poverty.

In April, nine independent southern African states met in Lusaka, Zambia, where they adopted a declaration for economic liberation. The declaration states:

> The development objectives which we will pursue through co-ordinated action are:
> 1. The reduction of economic dependence, particularly, but not only, on the Republic of South Africa.
> 2. The forging of links to create a genuine and equitable regional integration.
> 3. The mobilisation of resources to promote the implementation of national, interstate and regional policies.
> 4. Concerted action to secure international co-operation within the framework of our strategy for economic liberation.

One of the declaration's first objectives is the building of a vast transportation network from western to eastern Africa. In carrying out this and their other economic objectives, these African states could offer a vast new market for U.S. products.

But positive new markets for the United States — whether in Africa or the Soviet Union — can be realized only through non-discriminatory trade relations with the Soviet Union, and an end to neo-colonialist relations in Africa. The U.S. corporate monopolists, however, are pursuing an opposite course.

For example, while Big Business is closing down steel and auto plants at home, they build new plants abroad and at the same time collaborate in building plants with foreign monopolists, and import steel, autos, textiles, etc. from West Germany, Britain, China, Japan and South Africa. At a time of world-wide demands for total sanctions against South Africa, they expand U.S. trade and investments there.

By creating anti-Soviet hysteria, Washington attempts to hide the fact that the U.S. multi-national corporations' economic relations with South Africa and other imperialist powers produces unemployment at home. At the same time these relations mean neo-colonialism in southern Africa and the reinforcement of apartheid-fascism in South Africa.

But non-discriminatory U.S. trade with the Soviet Union would have the opposite effect: The USSR's socialist system guarantees that U.S./USSR trade would benefit the peoples of both countries, and the world as a whole. Again, take steel as an example: The Soviet Union is the world's biggest producer of steel. Yet because of the immensity of its socialist construction projects, it is also potentially the world's biggest importer of

steel.

An end to trading bans and discriminatory trade practices with the USSR would open up a market so vast that it could provide jobs for huge numbers of U.S. workers. But the prerequisite for realizing such prospects — in Africa as well as the Soviet Union — is the replacement of the armaments race and the war danger by political, economic and military detente between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The struggle for US/USSR detente is an indivisible and decisive part of the fight for total sanctions against, and the total isolation of apartheid-fascist South Africa, and for an end to the multi-nationals' neo-colonialist domination of Africa.

Realizing the objectives of the Lusaka declaration requires merging the struggle for peace and the struggle for the total defeat of the genocidal South African regime. It would be illusory to think these objectives can be achieved in any other context. The special character of the new stage of struggle throughout southern Africa lies in the historical conjunction of the fight to achieve the Lusaka goals with the fight to end racist minority rule in South Africa.

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HO CHI MINH AND OUR TIMES

by Bonakele Goduka

On May 19, 1980 the Socialist Republic of Vietnam celebrated the 90th birthday of President Ho Chi Minh, "the leader of genius and great teacher of the Vietnamese working class and people, one of the outstanding leaders of the international communist and workers' movement, and one of the prominent activists of the national liberation movement in this 20th century . . . a genuine Marxist, a great thinker, a strategist of genius, an outstanding organiser, a communist with noble qualities and virtues" as Comrade Troung-Chinh, of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam and President of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, described him at the meeting to commemorate that occasion.

It is impossible to evaluate the life and times of Uncle Ho — as all called him — without taking into consideration the developments that have taken place since his death. We have in mind the final victory of the Vietnamese people. Uncle Ho's greatness lies in the fact that he planned and laid a foundation for these historic victories.

But there is the other side to these victories, namely the collusion

between U.S. imperialism and the Peking expansionists — a sad and painful story, that affects negatively the peaceful reconstruction of the countries of Indo-China (Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea), South East Asia, and indeed the whole world.

If in this article we do not deal exhaustively with the practical political activities of the Chinese hegemonists in Indo-China and all the crimes committed by them against the people of Indo-China, it is not because we lack material and information — the Vietnamese and Kampuchean governments have supplied more than enough evidence of these crimes. What we want to emphasise is that China's role in South East Asia and the world is a logical outcome of her disastrous internal and external policy, "Maoism" in practice!

Vietnam's Victory: 1975

One hundred and sixteen years after the French set foot on Vietnamese soil, the people of Vietnam liberated themselves from the American imperialist occupation on April 30, 1975. For the first time the country had peace, relative peace; no threat of bombs or shells destroying houses or crops or children; no threat of foreign soldiers or local mercenaries coming to kill, burn or rape. And for the first time in 21 years the North and South were united:

> "One has to be a Vietnamese to feel the whole depth of the feelings that animated our people in those historic days . . . The people as a whole, even those who had taken no part in the struggle, were proud to be members of a heroic and indomitable nation."[1]

But these sentiments, genuine though they were, were not sufficient to do away with the remaining misery and ruin. Material damage was one aspect, more serious were the human losses, social upheavals and the moral consequences.

During the American war of aggression more than 14,000 tons of bombs and shells had been dropped on the country — 22 times the tonnage used in Korea, and in addition napalm and phosphorus. They left behind about 25 million bomb craters; in many regions not a single building was left standing, not a sapling, coconut palms destroyed by defoliants, bombs and shells. What about the villages and people under those coconut palms?

Millions of acres hit by bombs; agricultural land, forestland and hillsides, denuded of vegetation by defoliants, brutally eroded by the tropical rains. Millions of cattle — oxen and buffaloes slaughtered with a view to driving the rural population to famine.

This was the policy articulated by, among others, the American General Curtis Le May, who recommended that every industrial installation, every factory be destroyed, and that destruction continue until no two bricks were left joined together.

On liberation day, hundreds of thousands of people were freed from jails sick and disabled. In the South alone, war invalids numbered more than 360,000. The war left one million widows, 800,000 orphans and children abandoned by their American, Korean and Filipino soldier fathers. The number of civilian victims for the period from 1965 to 1973 when American troops were directly involved is estimated to be 1.5 million.

The American war of aggression had created a large number of "uprooted" people — the key problem of post-war years. Being unable to subdue the rural and hill-forest areas, the American command resorted to a policy of "forced urbanisation"; repeated bombings of villages and chemical spraying of crops drove 10 million rural people (figure from American sources) from their villages and fields to towns and cities. When the American aggression started South Vietnam had 15 per cent of its population living in towns, the remaining 85 per cent in the countryside. But when the war ended, only 35 per cent of the population were left in the rural areas; 65 per cent were concentrated in overcrowded cities and towns. The aim was not only to weaken Vietnam, but also to turn those driven from the countryside into mercenaries of Washington. These jobless and landless people would have little option but to join Thieu's army and police.

By liberation day there were in South Vietnam: more than 3 million unemployed, several hundred thousand prostitutes and drug addicts, many thousand gangsters and criminals, whose numbers were later swelled by former Thieu police, paratroops and rangers. There were one million tubercular people, several hundred thousand affected by venereal diseases, and four million illiterate people.

Under the Thieu regime social medicine had been wholly neglected, doctors cared only for a rich clientele, and endemic tropical disease (plague, cholera, malaria) was wreaking havoc.

Both in the North and South, American ordinance continues to maim people. Unexploded American ammunition left in the country is estimated (again by American experts) at between 150,000 and 300,000 tons. Literally every day, children at play or peasants at work are wounded or killed by mines or other anti-personnel devices. In three years after the war there were 3,700 victims in Quang Nam province alone.

Thus, for the South Vietnamese people, liberation and reconstruction meant rebuilding a country that had been ruined materially and a society that had been completely perverted and turned upside down, "in which millions of people had forgotten how to perform honest labour and had lost all sense of national and moral values".[2] Society had to be remade and people reintegrated into the social community.

It was at this stage, on February 17, 1979, that the Chinese expansionists attacked the united Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

What had gone wrong? Did the Vietnamese commit a crime by liberating and uniting their country? Or was it a crime for them to declare that socialism is their goal?

Pol Potism

Before we attempt to answer these questions let us look at the activities of that political dwarf in Kampuchea whose name — Pol Pot — is associated with some of the worst crimes of this century.

The crimes committed by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique cannot be underestimated. More than three million people out of a population of seven million were massacred. The population was driven out of towns to so-called "communes" in the countryside; money was abolished; and an extremely brutal fascist regime was established.

The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique did not stop at that. They attacked the Vietnamese freedom fighters even before they had won their freedom; they plundered arms depots, hospitals and camps of the South Vietnam Liberation Army in Kampuchea. And later they attacked Vietnam, massacring thousands of people.

It is not our task in this article to deal with the numerous crimes of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime, but to explore the role of China in using Pol Pot against Vietnam and the Indo-Chinese people.

After the liberation of Kampuchea from the rule of the pro-American Lon Nol clique on April 17, 1975, the Chinese ruling clique helped their henchmen Pol Pot and Ieng Sary seize the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, discard Sihanouk and his men, and set up a genocidal fascist regime which they ironically called "radical communism". Kampuchea was to be a new type satellite and military base to attack Vietnam from the South West.

This Chinese strategy which dovetailed with American schemes for a Peking-Washington alliance had an internal function within China; the

"big nation" chauvinism of the Maoists was a means to rally different factions within the Chinese society where a scramble for power, conducted fiercely with ruthless purges, went on in a country whose economy and political development had been upset and set back 20 years as a result of the "great leap forward" and the "great cultural revolution". This chauvinism took curious forms. The Chinese engaged themselves in "ultra-revolutionary" rhetoric while carrying out counter-revolutionary strategies. They reversed their policy of alliances, turned friends into foes and vice-versa. The Soviet Union, a one time ally, became the Chinese leadership's "enemy No. 1" and the U.S. China's reliable ally.

Up to 1979 China was involved in a "war by proxy", at the expense of the Kampuchean and Vietnamese people using Kampuchea to attack Vietnam. But the defeat of Pol Pot's forces in December 1978 by the revolutionary forces of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea, headed by Heng Samrin and aided by their Vietnamese brothers and sisters, led to the establishment of a people's revolutionary power in Kampuchea in January 1979. This forced Peking to throw off its mask and to launch its own war of aggression against Vietnam, which caused more damage and destruction. But the aggressors were defeated and ultimately driven out.

The "Boat People"

We have already stated that during their war against Vietnam American imperialism aimed among other things at turning a large section of the Vietnamese people into mercenaries. More than 1,200,000 were forced into the army and police, commanded by more than 50,000 offiers, well trained, indoctrinated and supervised by tens of thousands of American advisors.

If to this one adds the civil servants, political agents and leaders of various anti-communist parties and organisations, one will find that at least 1.5 million people were living under American protection on salaries extracted from the local population. A whole commercial network developed, based on importation of luxury goods to be consumed by the American and Vietnamese privileged strata. Banks, insurance companies, coffee houses, bars, hotels, brothels and drug trafficking mushroomed. In Saigon three hundred thousand households were registered as "traders" — at least twice the number of factory workers. American military "aid" averaging 1.3 million dollars, economic "aid" of 600-800 million dollars,

on-the-spot expenditures of the American expeditionary corps and services, CIA funds which maintained "pacification agents", as well as "aid" from France, Japan, Great Britain, West Germany, etc, poured 2 billion dollars a year on average into occupied Vietnam. It allowed several million people to live without participating in any productive work — a real Western consumer society!

After liberation American and other Western "aid" was cut off. Chinese aid to the North was reduced, then completely stopped. Vietnam lost three-fourths of the assistance given to the North and South in the war years, during a period of national calamities of unprecedented scope. A great drought in 1977 affected the country for several months resulting in a deficit of more than a million tons of rice in that year's crop. 1978 saw a series of exceptionally violent floods and typhoons, which hit areas with an aggregate population of 6 million.

This is the background against with we should view the problem of "those who leave".

The first population exodus took place in 1954. Under the terms of the Geneva Agreements the French expeditionary Corps was regrouped south of the 17th parallel. About 800,000 people followed them south — Catholics (more than half a million), soldiers and police, civil servants, businessmen. This political operation aimed at providing the Southern regime led by the Catholic Ngo Dinh Diem with "popular" support, both military and political, equipped and trained by the Americans. The South Vietnamese Catholic Church developed a strong reactionary character becoming the main supporter of the Saigon administration and an advocate of American intervention. Diem and Thieu, the two presidents of South Vietnam, many cabinet ministers, army officers, deputies, senators were catholics, and violently anti-communist.

But the rapid collapse of the Thieu regime and the swift victory of revolutionary forces in 1975 left the American services little time. About 150,000 people were taken away from liberated Vietnam helter skelter in the last weeks by sea or air.

These refugees included:

— many generals and other army officers who had perpetrated often unforgivable crimes. (Nguyen Cao Ky, the air "vice marshal" who had sworn to defend the country to his last breath against the "communists", was among the first to fly to the U.S.A.);
— "influential" members of former pro-American governments, first of all Thieu, followed by many cabinet ministers, deputies, high-ranking

officials, leaders of political parties, politico-religious sects and rabid anti-communists;
- rich merchants and industrialists who had been able to buy places on the departing planes from American officials organising the exodus;
- the staffs of many American services, including intelligence agents and torturers, as well as cooks and maid servants taken to the U.S. by their masters — people who were seized by panic on account of the terrifying rumours spread by American psycho-war services: "the communist victors will perform wholesale massacres", "women found with varnished fingernails will have them torn off "; "everybody will be sent away to do hard labour"; "young girls will be forced to marry war invalids" " etc.
- those with money (gold, foreign currencies, diamonds) who could settle in the USA or France to set up businesses;
- technicians who were recruited by administrations or private firms.

But among the "refugees" were also agents who specialised in slander campaigns against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam; and some of them, former officers and mercenaries of the Saigon army, were to receive training in special camps, and be reintroduced into these countries of Indo-China to man subversive networks there.

From 1975 to 1978 this regular outflow of people posed no serious problem either to Vietnam or to the host countries; but in 1978 a new element to the problem gave it unprecedented gravity. The Hoa people are of Chinese descent living in Vietnam and other countries of South East Asia, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines etc. About 1.5 million of them live in Vietnam; two major concentrations are in the provinces bordering on China, and in Cho Lou, a part of Ho Chi Minh City. Their presence in Vietnam was not new. For centuries, wherever particularly disastrous natural calamity or political change happened in China, many Chinese had left their country to seek refuge in Vietnam. The 17th century exodus of partisans of the Ming dynasty, following its overthrow by the Manchus who founded the Ching dynasty, is a case in point. When in the 19th century China was shaken by big peasant revolts and the Tai Ping movement in particular (1850-64), a large number of peasants fled China because of the savage repression. The 19th and the first half of the 20th century saw great upheavals in China, the disintegration of the Ching empire, the revolution of 1911, internecine struggle among the "warlords", anti-Japanese war, civil war between Nationalists and Communists, and many other incidents and calamities.

Vietnam absorbed these Hoa refugees.

But French colonisation brought about a change in the economic and political status of the Hoa, and interrupted the historical process of their gradual integration into the Vietnamese community. French "divide and rule" tactics sought to turn the Hoa people into a separate community within Vietnam. They used the Hoa traders to collect rice in the villages with a view to export, and to retail industrial goods imported from France. Profits drawn from this two-way trade were shared between French firms and Hoa merchants. Thus a Hoa compradore bourgeoisie emerged and collaborated with the French colonialists.

The superior status accorded by the French to the Hoa bourgeoisie impeded solidarity between Hoa and Vietnamese workers. The Hoa workers were thus caught between conflicting feelings: attracted by class solidarity to the Vietnamese workers, but tied to the Hoa community.

The American presence in Vietnam, accompanied by the enormous inflow of dollars and goods aggravated the situation. This was a period of great prosperity for the Hoa bourgeoisie which held a practical monopoly — at least 80 per cent — of all important commercial, industrial and banking businesses in South Vietnam. Many had become business "kings", and grew richer as the war proceeded.

The liberation of South Vietnam from the American neo-colonial system completely upset the living conditions of the Hoa businessmen. No more U.S. dollars, no more U.S. goods, their monopoly of foreign trade was broken. Some fled with their wealth abroad; but others remained in Saigon-Cho Lou with their valuable stocks of merchandise, foreign exchange, gold, diamonds, large trading and industrial establishments, luxurious residences. Fat profits were reaped by distributing stocks of goods to innumerable shopkeepers and pedlars, taking advantage of the scarcity of commodities to set prices sky-rocketing.

But the new state of South Vietnam organised state stores and people's cooperatives, which narrowed down the field of activity of the traffickers. The big trading firms, whether owned by Hoa or Vietnamese people, were ordered to close; stocks of goods were purchased by the state and big traders had to devote their capital to productive activities, handicrafts, agricultural or fishing undertakings. Both Hoa and Viet traders were affected. But Peking declared that this action was discrimination directed at the Chinese. We had the spectacle of an alleged socialist country defending the interests of a parasitic bourgeoisie against nationalisation by another socialist country!

Ho Chi Minh and Africa

One of the little known facts in our continent is Ho Chi Minh's participation in and contribution to the resistance struggle in Africa. In the early twenties in France he became involved in the politics of the Communist Party. He helped mobilise the black radicals from the former French colonies who were then resident in Paris. Nguyen Ai Quoc (Nguyen the Patriot) as he called himself then founded and led the Paris based "Union Intercoloniale", an organisation to unite all anti-colonial forces of the French colonial empire. Many African and West Indian anti-colonial revolutionaries were attracted to it.

This organisation involved itself in revolutionary propaganda, and Ho Chi Minh founded and published *Le Paria* as its official organ. The French colonial authorities classified *Le Paria* as a "newspaper of subversive tendency". "The circulation and distribution of this paper represents a danger", the French authorities claimed in reaction to the fact that *Le Paria* had found its way into Dahomey.

Le Paria, according to the French colonial authorities, contained "genuine calls to revolution, addressed to all natives of our colonies". Ho Chi Minh also published what was called a "violent pamphlet" *Le Proces de la Colonisation Francaise,* which condemned French rule in general including abuses in Dahomey (now Benin), Madagascar and the French West Indies. From France he went to the Soviet Union where in 1924 he wrote articles in *Inprecor* — the organ of the Comintern — about colonial oppression in West Africa.

But we do not think of Uncle Ho's contribution only in terms of the past. His life and work are a living inspiration to all who consider the tasks still facing Africa, which, like the tasks which faced Socialist Vietnam, are immense. For Vietnam there was the task of quick reunification, the election of a national assembly and a government for the whole country. This was closely related to the question of reconversion of the socio-economic structures of the South, to turn colonial and neo-colonial structures into national ones, and of a gradual advance to socialism.

These tasks could not be divorced from large-scale economic and social measures aimed at giving work to millions of unemployed people, rehabilitating hundreds of thousands of prostitutes, drug addicts and delinquents, ensuring decent living and education to nearly one million orphans, quickly organising a health system capable of stemming endemic and social diseases, eradicating illiteracy in the whole of the South (in the North this problem had been solved 20 years before) while developing the

school system in the whole country; the clearance of large tracts of land mines; quick repair of communication lines between North and South which had been interrupted for 21 years.

Strenuous efforts to develop science and technology and a national and progressive culture while integrating traditions into this speedy modernisation of society and culture had to be accompanied by a harmonious integration of about 60 diverse ethnic minorities making up 20 per cent of the population. This was happening under conditions of great difficulty. These problems face Africa, independent Africa, in one form or another and are going to face us in South Africa. How did the Vietnamese solve them?

The Vietnamese people have been able to tackle these enormous problems thanks to their fidelity to the teachings of Ho Chi Minh, who emphasised the need for unity of all democratic forces in the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism; who manifested the strong will and the indomitable spirit of the Vietnamese people in their struggle for independence and freedom; who embodied and propagated the scientific view that national independence is closely linked with socialism.

In the theoretical and ideological field the Vietnamese revolution has many important lessons for us. We have in mind the question of the leading role of the working class. What about the question of the two-stage revolution?

In the speech mentioned at the beginning of this article Comrade Truong Chinh has this to say:

> ". . . in the specific conditions of our country, in order to move from servitude to the building of an independent, free, comfortable and happy life, our people *have to go through an uninterrupted, revolutionary process including two stages* — that of national people's democratic revolution and that of socialist revolution."

He goes on to say:

> "Corresponding to these two revolutionary stages are two different revolutionary strategies with different tasks, targets and methods, which cannot be confused. To confuse one with the other would lead either to a 'leftist' or a 'rightist' deviation and inevitably to failure. The national people's democratic and the socialist revolutions, however, are two intimately connected stages of a single process, the former being a preparation and creating premises for the latter and the latter being the necessary continuation and development of the former . . .
> "In the national people's democratic revolution stage, *socialism and communism are a prospective objective, a watchword to mobilise and rouse the masses* . . .

> "In the socialist revolution stage, socialism becomes the immediate objective but remains always linked with national independence. Socialist revolution and socialist construction are always bound up with the defence of the fatherland."
> (emphasis in the original — B.G.)

This thesis is of great theoretical and ideological and practical-political significance to us in South Africa. It confirms the thesis advanced by our party in its programme *The Road to South African Freedom;* it demonstrates the universality of our theory of Marxism-Leninism as a great weapon in the political and ideological struggle against "national reformism", "left" and "right" deviations, liberalism and counter-revolution. It anchors our movement in the revolutionary stream and sharpens our anti-colonial and anti-imperialist commitment.

It is for these and many other reasons that we agree with Uncle Ho that: "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom".

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1) "Those who Leave (The Problem of Vietnamese Refugees)" Published by *Vietnam Courier*, Hanoi p.7.

2) Ibid p. 11.

ETHIOPIA: SOME ASPECTS OF THE NATIONALITIES QUESTION

by Georgie Galperin

Ethiopia's population presents a most motley pattern, incorporating the Semitic Amharas, Tigrais, Gurages, Tigres, some minor ethno-linguistic units, and the Cushitic peoples of Oromo (Gallas), Sidamos, Somalis, Afars, and Bedas, as well as negroid units speaking Nilotic and East Sudan tongues who inhabit the Western and Southwestern borderlands. Some nationalities are found only in Ethiopia; others dwell over a wide area in many states, which is common enough in many countries of post-colonial Africa. About 40 per cent are Muslims, slightly over half are Christians.

Identical or similar living conditions and way of life have expedited ethnic integration. The drawing together is fastest in urban areas, which Ethiopian scholar Mesfin Wolde Mariam has figuratively termed "melting pots of various linguistic, religious and regional groups". By the time of the 1974 Revolution, city dwellers displayed a manifest class and social stratification in the place of ethnic and "ethno-labour" division.

In the view of many scholars, one may say that an Ethiopian nation is coming together on the basis of Amharas, partly Tigrais, Central Oromos, Gurages, and Northern Sidamos. Integration, though, is a complex,

contradictory process. Still great are economic and cultural distinctions outside zones of active assimilation, indeed, they are pronounced even within the same ethno-linguistic communities, as for instance, between the Oromo-Arussi farmers and Oromo-Borana nomads, or between the Northern Eritrea's Tigres and the Tigres of Asmara. Nation-forming factors are still embryonic, and the national market structure is highly fragmented. Centres of modern economic types are small and scattered. Still looming large is subsistence economy, which accounts for about three-quarters of farm produce. Nor is the language community stable, especially outside urban areas, and despite its rather intensive spread the Amharic, the state language, is still not the national language.

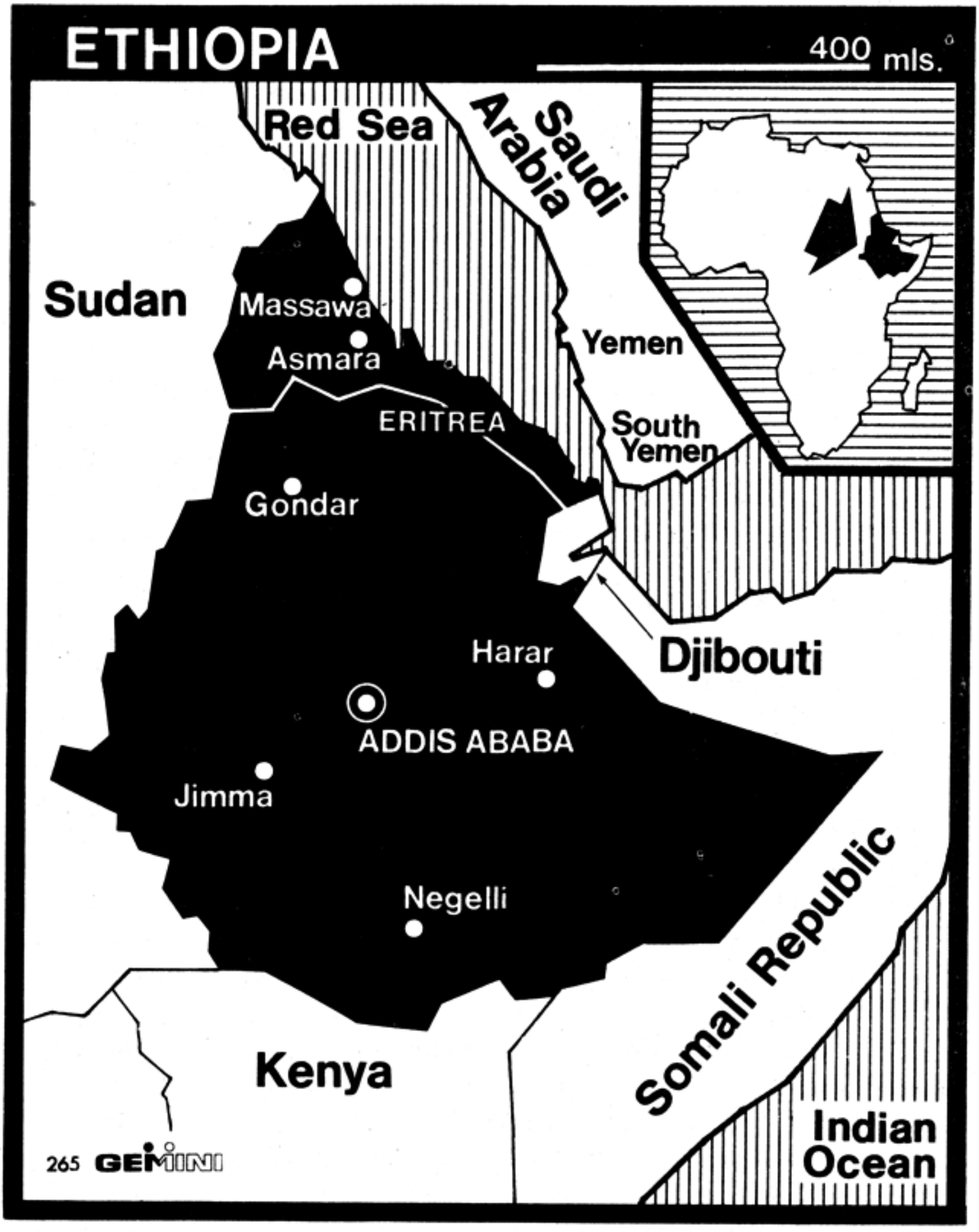
Historically, nation-formation came late in Africa and is, moreover, impeded by reactionary and imperialist forces — which is largely true of Ethiopia as well. Note that the territory of this country, despite its ancient statehood, acquired its present frontiers only at the turn of the 20th century, having grown a great deal in a brief time.

The Ethiopian revolution has fully revealed the acuteness of the nationalities issue, and has placed it on the agenda, to enable a search to be instituted for a fundamentally new solution.

The pattern of settlement and relationships of the nationalities inhabiting the Horn of Africa and the present ethnopolitical situation in this region are especially complex. Possibly nowhere else in Africa have ethnic problems so pronounced an impact on interstate relationships as here, and nowhere else is the situation so conducive to internationalisation of conflicts. Small wonder that in their drive against the Ethiopian revolution, reaction at home and abroad manifestly prefers to foment national issues.

Ethiopia's ethno-centrifugal factors still have a most marked impact, even though contained for the most part within Eritrea and Ogaden. Any analysis of Ethiopia's nationalities question must necessarily, we believe, take into consideration the tenacity not only of peripheral anti-Great-Power, or anti-Amharic sentiments, but also vice versa, the long-cultivated Amharic chauvinism and intolerance of some national minorities.

The chauvinistic Great-Power policies of the ruling Amharic secular and clerical authorities, what we shall call Amharification, served to intensify centrifugal break-away forces, to shake, not reinforce the pillars of this one-time multinational empire. Practised instead of Ethiopianisation, was Amharification, with Amharas comprising more than 60 per cent of the government, 75 per cent of the officers corps, and 70 per cent of the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Negelli
Somali Republic
Kenya
Indian Ocean
265 GEMINI

district (woreda) governors in the Southern non-Amharic regions, who at the same time were the biggest landowners there. Many similar instances could be cited. Ever harsher repression and national suppression were salient features of the domestic policies pursued by Haile Selassie I and his regime. Exploiting religious diversion, the imperial family and ruling quarters most severely exploited non-Christians, especially on the periphery. Muslims were not allowed to own land, were deprived of many civil rights, and comprised the bulk of the unemployed and low-paid categories. The new Ethiopia has inherited the knottiest of national and religious issues, which are particularly acute in Eritrea.

Historically, the former Italian colony of Eritrea — thus called by Italian colonists in the late 19th century — is part of Ethiopia, to which it is linked by thousands of economic, cultural and historic bonds. Claims made by separatist cliques that there exists a separate developed Eritrean nation, which even belongs to the Arab world, are manifestly groundless. Suffice it to say that Eritrea's inner border intersects areas inhabited from West to East, by East-Sudanese Arabs, Kunamas, Tigrais, Sahos, and Afars. Many Eritreans have migrated to other parts of Ethiopia, with Addis Ababa alone having more than 100,000 of them by 1975. Separatism derives from the colonialist and neocolonialist policies of the imperialist powers and their reactionary allies. Western diplomacy installed the Eritrean issue as a time-bomb, when deciding the lot of the former Italian colonies.

It is worthwhile to more frequently emphasise nationalities issues, as in the unprecedented anti-Ethiopian campaign being conducted for several years now in the Western world and some Arab countries, these issues are accentuated, dramatised, and in effect (deliberately or involuntarily, which is much more seldom) misrepresented.

The Eritrean issue brings in with it the more general problem of self-determination in conditions of a national democratic revolution, of the emergence of a socialist-oriented multinational state. Here the interpretation separatist "theorists" and their patrons put on the related Marxist-Leninist theses are invalid, to say the least. Actually this is a distinctly bourgeois, nationalistic, time-serving, in short, reactionary interpretation of the principle of self-determination, of which Marxist-Leninists are its sincerest consistent champions. They practice what they preach — suffice it to note the emergence and development of the USSR, the world's first socialist state, which unswervingly advocates this principle in its foreign policy, viewing it as a universally mandatory legal category.

However, its implementation in international practice must necessarily take account of the actually obtaining situation, and fully accord with the interests of the peoples directly concerned. Varied conditions suggest varied implementation through confederation, federation, autonomy, or finally secession.

Yet separatist pronouncements hardly betray a more or less constructive programme. Their only clear goal is secession from Ethiopia in any way and in any circumstances, with Ethiopia's enemies, the reactionary separatist leadership, wilfully placing the sign of equality between the independence movement, which in Africa is anti-colonialist, and the solution for self-determination within the framework of a large progressive multinational state.

Scientific socialism has never viewed secession as a political fetish, as an aim in itself, stripped of class-minded and social expediency. Marxist-Leninists emphasise not only the close interconnection between the solution of problems of national statehood and the attainment of socialism, but also the point that socialism comes first. Which means that the nationalities issue should be resolved in the context of the vital interests of the working masses. As Lenin pointed out, the right to self-determination "is not the equivalent of a demand for separation, fragmentation and the formation of small states. It implies only a consistent expression of struggle against all national oppression".[1] This explains better than all else, incidentally, the progressive character of the Eritrean movement in conditions of national oppression by a feudal monarchy, and its reactionary degeneration during the Ethiopian revolution.

Quite logical is the conclusion drawn that "the slogan of state secession in certain circumstances may not infrequently weaken the national liberation movement and prove of advantage to imperialism, serving as cover for pro-imperialist separatism, which seeks to weaken and subsequently break up large states".[2] It should be noted that Ethiopia's revolutionary democrats take a class-minded approach, declaring that they regard the nationalities question "as an organic part of the overall question of class struggle".[3]

While one may admit that in the first few months after the revolution the Eritrean separatists thought this another military coup, it is a fact that the separatist leadership became particularly active in mid-1977, by which time the national democratic character of the revolution was obvious, crucial social, economic and political reforms had been enunciated and

were beginning to be implemented, a fundamentally new solution was being evolved for the nationalities issue, and the country was hard battling against foreign-provoked interventation.[4]

What the separatists and their patrons do logically leads towards a recarving of all of present-day Eastern Africa. In the Horn of Africa area alone this would spell Ethiopia's dismemberment into five or six mini-states, the lopping off of Southern Sudan and Northern Kenya, and the splitting of the Jibuti Republic into two. The class, social implications of the anti-Ethiopian campaign are palpably evident. Ethiopia's enemies do not care at all for the lot of the peoples of this country and region. Their paramount aim is to throttle Ethiopia's revolution, and hamstring all progressive forces in this large, strategically important area.

Ethiopia's revolutionary democratic leaders admit that the Soviet solution of the nationalities question is of vast significance for their country. Indeed, despite all the differences between pre-revolutionary Ethiopia and pre-revolutionary Russia, they have much in common — they were both multinational empires, each with a particularly acute nationalities question intensified by a motley ethnic pattern, a multiplicity of economic types, and sharply distinctive regional differentiations of economic and cultural development. One could also note the certain resemblance in social and economic structures that many of Africa's peoples, especially, perhaps, Ethiopia's peoples, have with what the peoples who lived on tsarist Russia's national outskirts had before.

It is only natural for the socialist-oriented developing countries to adopt a socialist solution for the nationalities question, which is first of all to practise, not merely preach, equality for all nations and nationalities. Such practical equality is secured, as is well known, through radical, revolutionary, social, economic, and cultural transformations, with full assistance given the more backward nations and nationalities, whose pace of advance should be faster. These principles are reflected in the basic document of Ethiopia's revolutionary democrats, in their Programme of the National Democratic Revolution, published in April 1976. This document says that "special attention" will be paid to peoples living on the national outskirts of former monarchic Ethiopia, to all oppressed minorities, in order "to raise the political, economic, and cultural life of these nationalities. All necessary steps to equalise these nationalities with the other nationalities of Ethiopia will be undertaken".

As is well known, the historic significance of the Soviet solution for the nationalities question lies also in that entire nations inhabiting vast

expanses skipped the capitalist phase of development, while some Northern, Far Eastern, and Siberian peoples even bypassed the pre-capitalist phase of development. Soviet experience is also of great value as regards the choice of an organisational structure to fully reflect self-determination in the specific conditions.

In circumstances when the emergence of a nation is far from consummation, the autonomy principle would seem to present the best, rational option. The aforementioned Programme recognises that all Ethiopia's peoples have the right to self-determination, with the most progressive and effective vehicle thereto at the present stage being "regional autonomy", deriving from the interests of faster development, the consolidation of multinational unity, and the preservation of territorial integrity. Within the concept of such autonomy, the document says: "Each nationality of Ethiopia has the right to determine the contents of its political, economic, and social life, use its own language and elect its own leaders and administrators" to head its bodies of power.

As a vehicle for self-determination, socialist automony leads to closer relationships, solidarity, and mutual assistance between peoples, towards demolition of artificially created or historically ordained national partitions. Emphasised in Ethiopia is also the circumstance that the choice of a vehicle for the self-determination of the country's nationalities, to wit "regional autonomy . . . is Ethiopia's own sovereign business", as at stake is "not the liberation of colonies, but the development of nationalities within a revolutionary Ethiopia".[5]

Implementation of region autonomy is no simple matter, as closely linked with it is another complex issue, that of a new national and territorial division which should apparently proceed from the territorial community of the biggest nationalities, and which would hence imply actual coexistence of six or seven large national regions in place of the present fourteen provinces.

At the outset, a different progress made by these autonomous regions would apparently be inevitable. For some period of time, some regions would be donors, others recipients. For this reason the ethnic, or national, principle of formation, with due account taken of the traditional historical and cultural features and mores must, as the experience of socialist autonomy suggests, be integrated with a spectrum of economico-geographical and social factors, such as natural resources, manpower, infrastructures, existing economic structures and systems, etc. The population mosaic, along with their long-established and actual

coexistence suggests the possible creation of bi-national autonomous regions.

Several initial moves have already been made to evolve a solution for the nationalities question. Much political education and explanatory work is being carried on in town and country, down to the furthermost nooks. Several documents have been adopted, firstly, the earlier-quoted Programme, which bars all discrimination for reasons of ethnic or religious affiliation. Revolutionary activists in town and country are enlisted to tackle the issue. A new setup for national territorial division is being devised. Diverse literature, including school books, is published in the more common national tongues, with broadcasting being conducted in these languages. A fundamentally new approach is taken to personnel and manning arrangements. Steps are being taken to sedentarise some nomad tribes. Much is being done to eradicate illiteracy and promote medical and veterinary services on the outskirts. The main Muslim holidays have been declared national holidays, and discriminatory curbs in employment have been removed.

Greatest hopes should be attached to the nationwide revolutionary campaign for economic and cultural advancement that was officially inaugurated on February 3, 1979, as a new phase of extensive peacetime construction in Ethiopia's revolution. The link between it and a solution for the nationalities question stems from the adoption of totally novel principles of centralised, or nationwide, and zonal planning.

Ethiopians realise that a full effective solution for the nationalities question is impossible without the organising guidance of a vanguard party armed with scientific socialism, the creation of which is about to be consummated. For only a party of this kind, a party of internationalists, to whom hidebound nationalistic parochialism is alien, and who are equipped with an advanced theory, can evolve a genuinely socialist solution for the nationalities question. Only a party of this kind can integrate working people of diverse nationalities on a new social and political foundation.

It should be noted that the initial moves, both implemented and planned, are already making themselves felt. Thus, the separatist Afar Liberation Front is virtually moribund, while the extremist reactionary Ethiopian Democratic Union and anarchistic pro-Maoist Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party have lost a more or less firm political following. Many Eritrean separatists, especially of the rank and file, are crossing over to the side of the revolution. Life in Ogaden is gradually

reverting to a peacetime footing.

Yet, Ethiopia's revolutionary leadership and activists have no illusions that the solution of the nationalities question will be easy. This will be a long, most knotty and painful process. To declare national equality is certainly not enough. The way has to be paved for its realisation in practice — despite the fierce struggle against counterrevolution at home and abroad, despite ruin, economic backwardness, a scarcity of manpower and resources, ignorance, tenacious national prejudice, and the consequences of oft-repeated natural calamities. Ethiopians also realise that the nationalities issue cannot be resolved by mere fiat. Again one sees a parallel with Russia in the incipient years of Soviet power. In virtually everything he wrote to cope with the nationalities question, Lenin pressed for a meticulously careful, cautious, and sensitive implementation of a nationalities policy that would mandatorily take into account local national and historical conditions.

We estimate that by next year, 83 per cent of the Horn of Africa's entire population will be living in Ethiopia. We have cited this figure merely to emphasise the circumstance that a genuine socialist solution for Ethiopia's nationalities problem will with time logically affect the ethnopolitical issues of this entire trouble-bedevilled area, and serve to eliminate the still very dangerous hotbed of tensions that exists there.

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2) R. A. Ulyanovsky, *Outlines of the National Liberation Struggle*, Moscow, 1976, p. 181.
3) Berhanu Bayih, "People's Gains in the Ethiopian Revolution", *The African Communist,* No. 74, 1978, p.58
4) The face of the separatist leadership is revealed by its earlier contacts with the so-called Ethiopian Democratic Union, an arch-reactionary, pro-monarchist organisation.
5) Berhanu Bayih, *Op. cit.*, p.117.

AFRICA NOTES & COMMENT

By Vukani Mawethu

Zambia: Summit of Southern African States

The legacy inherited by the front line states after seven years of bloody war in Zimbabwe has been more clearly understood today than yesterday: the war damage on the main railway line linking Zimbabwe and Maputo has been more extensive than was at first thought; the second line which runs through eastern Zimbabwe to the Mozambican port of Beira is currently able to handle only about 1,000 tons a day in both directions. Severe staff shortages, lack of maintenance facilities, as well as silting at Beira port, make any expansion in capacity difficult. The question of rail and port capacity is not merely a question of shortage of skilled railway and port workers; it includes the widening and deepening of both Beira and Maputo ports.

These problems affect the Zambian and Zairean exports e.g. copper or Zimbabwean coal or tobacco and a range of imported goods for all these countries as well as for neighbouring Malawi. The practice of consigning goods via South African Railways through Komatipoort to Maputo does

not seem reliable.

These were some of the problems that featured prominently on the agenda of the summit of nine African states — Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique, Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Swaziland and with Robert Mugabe then Prime Minister designate of Zimbabwe — and the occupied territory of Namibia, which was held in Lusaka on April 1.

The real goals of the nine-nation economic summit in Zambia were:

(a) planning an economic union in opposition to the constellation of states mooted by the racist Botha regime;
(b) unity and coordination of the economies of independent African states of Southern Africa against possible South African attempts to undermine their independence;
(c) the beginning of the realisation of a goal of a belt of independent and economically viable nations stretching across the continent from Dar es Salaam and Maputo on the Indian Ocean to Luanda on the Atlantic;
(d) establishment of a "battle front" for prosperity.

These measures were aimed at emphasising what the late Sir Seretse Khama — the chairman of the summit — called the struggle for social and economic independence which is even harder than the struggle for freedom.

This summit or foundation for a "new economic order in Southern Africa", drawn up at a conference in Arusha, Tanzania, in July, 1979 combining measures to coordinate development projects with steps to reduce economic ties with Pretoria, was a "logical consequence" of events in Zimbabwe and also part of the implementation of the OAU declaration on African unity; a realisation that the struggle in Africa is not merely for political freedom, but also for the consolidation of that freedom.

The unanimously adopted Programme of Action to stimulate inter-state trade with the ultimate economic isolation of South Africa as the final goal — though the African states understandably refrained from calling for an immediate cessation of all trade links with South Africa — called upon all those present to set up a Southern African Transport and Communications Commission to be based in Mozambique. It went further to suggest the establishment of an International Centre for Research in Agriculture in the Semi-Arid Tropics (ICRASAT) with headquarters in Botswana. Its tasks are to prevent environmental degradation through drought and desert, to wage war against foot and mouth disease and to produce vaccine to prevent the disease which threatens these countries.

This region is rich in human, agricultural and mineral resources which must be developed for the benefit of all its people — and the summit was definitely a step in the right direction.

Pope in Africa: Political Gymnastics and Metaphysical Acrobatics

On May 2 Pope John Paul II made an eleven day trip which took him to six African countries in Central, East and West Africa: Zaire, Kenya, Ghana, Upper Volta, Ivory Coast and Congo. North Africa was excluded from the itinerary, probably because it is overwhelmingly Moslem. Southern Africa was out of bounds, not for religious reasons but for political reasons. Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau were also not on the itinerary, perhaps because the Catholic Church in these countries was closely identified with Portuguese colonialism.

In the last eleven years the number of Catholics in Africa has nearly doubled — to say nothing of other denominations — to roughly 50 million i.e. about 12 per cent of the entire population of the continent. In Kenya the church population is expanding at a rate of six per cent a year.

But the eleven days of Pope John Paul II's visit to Africa did not give a clear picture of the way in which the Roman Catholic Church views the rapidly growing number of Catholics throughout our continent. On the contrary, this visit highlighted the complex character of the Pope himself and indicated the dilemma facing a church which prides itself on its universal character.

The eleven day tour of non-stop travelling, worship, prayer and preaching in Africa demonstrates the Pope's enormous stamina, personal charisma and what is more, his determination and zealousness to teach, rather than to learn about, Africa and its peoples. It underlined his conservatism regarding the policies of the Church he leads. But there was a contradiction between the message he brought and the official teachings of the Church.

The visit, he said, gave him an opportunity to "pay homage to all Africa and to express my sincere affection to all the inhabitants of this dear continent."

In Kenya he was welcomed by an enthusiastic crowd and he responded "in style". The millions of African people who took part in the open air

masses in Zaire, Kenya, Ghana etc. were not unlike similar scenes in Poland, Latin America, Ireland or US — countries which he had visited previously. He was like a pop star. People came from afar and — despite the drought in Kenya which brought further hardships — they spent their last pennies to come to Nairobi for the Mass in the Uhuru Park.

The Pope Speaks

In Kenya he said: "Let your soul reveal your daring and your vision for the future . . I believe in you all, I understand you, I love you."

This was tantamount to saying nothing. But he did go on to denounce violence and excessive expenditure on arms, depicting himself as a "tireless messenger of an ideal that excludes violence." His criticism of racism in South Africa was mild, but he did emphasise Africa's right to independence and freedom "from interference by outsiders" and rejected the "ideologies of both East and West."

He recognised and supported the idea of a "black Christ": he appeared at the huge open air mass in Nairobi crowned with a rare black and white colus monkey tail, wrapped in a monkey skin coat and carrying a staff normally borne by the Massai. He told the Kenyan priests and nuns that they had given the local church its "true force — both African and Christian."

In Zaire he played a different tune, perhaps because Mobutu "nationalised" Catholic schools, banned their youth organisation and forbade the Government-controlled newspapers from printing news about the Church. There is in Zaire also the "problem" posed by Cardinal Joseph Malula, the head of the Catholic Church in Zaire, who is a strong advocate of blending modes of worship introduced by missionaries from Europe with local rites derived from traditional African religious practice. Cardinal Malula supports the idea of an "authentic" African church now widespread in Zaire. The Vatican is sceptical about this — Cardinal Malula's request that his ideas be put into practice before the Pope arrived in Kinshasa was turned down by the Vatican.

The Pope warned against moving too hastily towards "Africanisation": he talked of the need to exercise "theological clarity, spiritual discernment, wisdom and prudence and also time." He emphasised that "an enrichment of the liturgy is possible, but on condition that the significance of the Christian rite is always well preserved and the universal Catholic aspect of the Church appears clearly, and all in agreement with the Holy See."

He told the Zaireans — or Mobutu specifically — "African questions

concern only Africans and must not be subjected to pressure or influence by outside blocks or interest groups, whatever they are." But is not the Pope himself and his church an outside influence?

He then started to "philosophise" — or was he indulging in metaphysics? "Materialism in all its forms must be rejected for it is always a source of enslavement whether it is the enslavement that comes from seeking without spirit, material goods, or even worse enslavement to atheistic ideologies that always, by definition, enslave man to man." Is the search for a better life in famine-struck Africa also to be condemned?

Unanswered Questions

Some questions remained unanswered in his remarks, especially about Africa's right to full political and economic independence. Why is Rome unwilling to grant the African church its independence? The question of adapting Catholic tradition and faith to meet local conditions, needs and circumstances is seen by Rome as "heresy". That is why Pope Paul kept on emphasising his belief in monogamy — he seemed to be talking to himself; the people were not impressed. This strict imposition of monogamy places ordinary people in a dilemma in which they are cut off from their own background. Who has to choose the values of a particular culture?

One of the problems facing the Vatican is the question of determining how far the Church should adapt its traditions to local custom without sacrificing its centuries-old authority.

The Pope sees himself as a voice that speaks for unity — unity of all mankind, harmony of all creation (man and nature), peace and reconciliation — in an increasingly disunited Church. This "foreign voice" sounded out of tune with the uninhibited dancing and sounds of African music — which was far from being religious — that welcomed him. The unity of which he speaks ignores class and national conflicts.

This brings us to the final question: can Catholic christianity ever become truly African while its focus on earth remains the Pope in Rome? Can black church leaders whose loyalties are both to Rome and to their people, be real leaders in the struggle for "spiritual emancipation"?

In our view the Pope's visit to Africa, like his visit to Latin America, was designed in the main to buttress reaction and discourage the forces of revolution. He preaches acceptance rather than revolt against injustice. He did nothing to help free Africa from the chains of imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Lesotho: The Role of the Communist Party

Khotso Molekane writes:

The Communist Party of Lesotho was founded on May 5, 1962, as a result of the merger of the national liberation and working class movement of colonial Basutoland with the theory of scientific socialism.

The 1960's had been marked by an upsurge of the revolutionary movement in the British colony of Basutoland. The strike movement by the workers throughout the country had culminated in the general strike of March, 1961, which paralysed the capital, Maseru. The betrayal of the strike movement of 1961 by collaborationist sections of the Basutoland Congress Party led to a crisis in the liberation movement of the country which resulted in left elements leaving the Basutoland Congress Party and the foundation of the Communist Party as an independent political organisation of the working class.

Of no less importance to the development of the national liberation and working class movement in Lesotho was the impact of the upsurge of the revolutionary movement in South Africa led by the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party in the 1960's. Among the founders of the Communist Party of Lesotho that can be mentioned are names like Robert Matji and Mokhofisi Kena.

In its first programme adopted in 1962 the Communist Party of Lesotho called for the formation of a broad united front of all national forces of the Basotho nation against British colonialism for national independence. It was stated in the programme that such a front could include workers, peasants, petty traders, chiefs, intellectuals and all other forces interested in the achievement of the national independence of Lesotho regardless of class affiliations and ideological differences.

After the achievement of political independence in 1966, the party characterised the national situation as a neo-colonial one and accordingly called for the formation of a national democratic front of all anti-imperialist and patriotic forces of the Basotho people for the replacement of the neo-colonial regime with a regime of national democracy of workers and peasants that would follow a non-capitalist path of development.

Following the suspension of the constitution after the abortive 1970 elections, the Communist Party was outlawed, its offices closed, its property seized and most of its leadership was detained without trial. Even after the lifting of the state of emergency in 1973 and the release of the party leaders, the ban on the party was not lifted and at the fifth party

congress held under illegal conditions in the country in 1976, it was decided to continue party activity under illegal conditions. The decision of the fifth party congress to restructure the party in line with illegal conditions was a very important blow to the liquidationist tendencies that had begun to show themselves within the party ranks. It was decided to organise party cells, branches and districts on the basis of democratic centralism with due regard to the conditions of illegality.

Since the mid 1970's a new political situation has arisen in Lesotho. A realignment of political forces has taken place. The formerly anti-South African Basutoland Congress Party has been reported to be seeking contact and collaboration with the racist regime of Pretoria and the formerly pro-South African ruling Basutoland National Party has been seen to take anti-South African positions. We recognise as positive the anti-racist and non-aligned tendencies in Lesotho's foreign policy while we continue to criticise the undemocratic nature of the Lesotho regime.

Attitude to South Africa

In Lesotho's politics the question of South Africa is all-important and the attitude towards South African racist imperialism is the touchstone of Lesotho patriotism. South African racist colonialism is our traditional enemy and the main threat to Lesotho's survival as an independent state. Resistance to South African colonialism has historically become a matter of national survival and not partisan politics.

The racist Republic of South Africa which, through the barbaric system of apartheid, is oppressing our African brethren, Indian and Coloured minorities as well as progressive whites, is seeking collaborationist elements in Lesotho through which it could establish a neo-Bantustan regime in the country. To this end it is applying political, economic and military pressure on the present regime intended to destabilise it and force it to abandon its present independent foreign policy course.

The Communist Party's strategic line in the present situation is, firstly, resistance to South African racist intervention in Lesotho's internal affairs, and secondly restoration of democratic rule in the country. This is our principled stand which is characterised by passionate patriotism and consistent democratisation. The position of the Communist Party of Lesotho enjoys the support of the Basotho people. The Communist Party of Lesotho is both a patriotic and internationalist political party. Our patriotism, that is loyalty to the vital interests of the Lesotho working class and peasantry, is not incompatible with our position of solidarity with the

world socialist system, the working class movement and the liberation of the oppressed peoples.

We specially attach great importance to relations of solidarity with the Soviet Union and its Communist Party, the vanguard of the world revolutionary movement against imperialism. We resolutely oppose Maoism and all forms of anti-socialist manifestations in the working class movement. We unreservedly support the liberation and revolutionary movement of the oppressed peoples of South Africa led by the ANC and its ally the SACP as well as that of Namibia led by SWAPO.

The Communist Party of Lesotho has always fought for the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The internal and external situation of Lesotho favours the consolidation of the patriotic forces inside the country. We are looking to the future with revolutionary optimism.

§§§

BOOK REVIEWS

THE SOURCES OF OUR REVOLUTION

The Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa.

by Bernard M. Magubane. Monthly Review Press (1979) Price: $18.50 (£10.75)

The title of this book says as much about its subject matter as it does about the author's approach to its study. The book is a study of national oppression of the African people in South Africa from the time of Dutch colonialism in 1652 to the present-day policy and practice of apartheid. Its aim, however, is not merely to present an historical account of racial oppression, but to locate its origin, changing form and content and its function within the context of the growth and development of the South African capitalist system. National oppression based on race developed alongside capitalist exploitation from the early period of mercantilism to the present stage of capitalism. "In a racist-capitalist power structure" the

author argues, "capitalist exploitation and race oppression are inextricably linked", and racism serves as "an instrument for extracting surplus value from the laborer and of keeping the working people divided." (p.16).

Apartheid, racism, the racial structures and the politics of white supremacy rule have as their root the exploitative economic basis of South African society.

The thesis itself is not a new one. Indeed it forms the core of the theory of the South African revolution as enunciated by the revolutionary organisations of the South African oppressed, the African National Congress and the Communist Party. [See for example, J. Slovo in *The Politics of the Southern African Revolution* (Pelican), *The Road to South African Freedom* (Program of the CPSA) and *Policy, Strategy and Tactics of the African National Congress* (Sechaba)] What Ben Magubane does in his book is to give a detailed account and analysis of the inter-relationship between race and class in successive phases of the development of capitalism in South Africa.

The historical roots of national oppression are traced through the period of mercantilism at the time of Dutch colonialism and the early period of British imperialism to the period of the economic revolution ushered in by the discovery of gold and diamonds and the further growth and development of the South African economy into a fully fledged capitalist system. At the same time Magubane examines the politics of the times as expressed through the myriad of laws, regulations, restrictions and policies of successive British colonial administrations as well as those of the Dutch colonists (today's Afrikaners) and the states they formed to demonstrate that politics and military subjugation had as their main aim the transformation of the independent African pastoralist-cultivators into a class of dependent wage labourers. The origin of the present system of migrant labour is to be found in this period, particularly in the mining revolution. Landlessness and "Native Policy" served as the means to coerce the African people into the service of mines, farms and factories.

The development of capitalism in South Africa generated a number of specific contradictions which were reflected in the economic, political, social and ideological spheres. It gave rise to the immediate contradiction between South African racist-capitalism and the national aspirations of the oppressed black majority. It manifested itself in the struggle for political power by the representatives of British finance-capital and the aspirant Afrikaner bourgeoisie; between mining, industrial and agricultural capital for labour and a greater share of the surplus generated

by the ruthless super-exploitation of the black working class. Racism and national oppression itself had to be modified and adjusted in the face of these at times acute contradictions. Crude race rule has given way to the policy of separate development and the Bantustan "independent" states. The rising tide of the national liberation struggle has witnessed a number of shifts in policy, all of which are aimed at maintaining the exploitative racist system.

Magubane's book goes into much detail in analysing the "modern" aspects of race and class in South Africa. There are important chapters on the growth of the African working class, the rise to political power of the Afrikaner-based Nationalist Party and its role as the political representative of the Afrikaner bourgeoisie and the manner in which the state has been instrumental in strengthening the economic base of this class. At the same time an important chapter is devoted to the close links between South African capitalism and the world-wide system of imperialism.

Ben Magubane's book, however, is not just an academic analysis of the South African system of race and class exploitation. He is committed to the destruction of the system of apartheid and what it stands for. He traces his inspiration to people who themselves are committed e.g. H.J. and Ray Simons, and "members of the African National Congress and its allies, with whom I have had a long and close relationship. Among these were the first cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) . . . " (Preface, xiii)

Appropriately, he devotes the concluding two chapters of his book to the rise and development of African nationalism as reflected in the organisation and the politics of the African National Congress, from its formative years in 1912 to its present position as the undisputed and authentic organisation, not only of the African people, but of all the anti-racist and democratic forces in South Africa. The chapters touch on the high-water marks of the liberation struggle.

If there is a weakness in Magubane's book it is, in the author's words, to be found in "a lack of first hand documentary research on my part". However, the synthesis and presentation of research already done, together with Magubane's clear-cut approach and searching analysis makes the book a valuable one in the understanding of what lies at the heart of the South African revolutionary process today.

T.S.

THE FIRE ON THE VELD

Olive Schreiner: A biography, by Ruth First and Ann Scott, published by Andre Deutsch. Price £9.95

This impressive book is almost as complicated as its subject, perhaps inevitably so because Olive Schreiner is so unsettled as a model that no artist could ever succeed in capturing her whole personality, let alone the mood of the moment. She remains to this day our outstanding English-language novelist, writing with a flaming passion which at times lifts her prose into the realms of poetry, though often passing beyond the borders of belief into melodrama. She was not only a writer, but a social reformer and agitator for change.

The authors say: "We see Olive Schreiner's life and writing as a product of a specific social history. We are not only looking at what she experienced but at how she, and others, perceived that experience: at the concepts with which her contemporaries understood their world, and, again, at the consciousness that was possible for her time — after Darwin, before Freud, and during the period when Marx's *Capital* was written". In this they have succeeded extremely well and we must all be grateful for their labours. They show clearly that in striving for self-realisation, Olive Schreiner came across obstructions placed in her way by society which she sought with great passion and intensity to remove. She was freethinker, feminist, socialist, negrophilist, a pioneer whose hope of personal happiness was bound up with her hope for social change, because the one was not possible without the other. Not that her political thinking was scientific or even consistent. She said of herself:

> "I'm always with the underdog, not with the top dog. When people are very big and successful (or causes either) I don't feel much interest in them. They don't need me".

Above all, she needed to be needed. The authors of this book devote most attention to her struggle for liberation from the constraints imposed on her by the fact of being a woman in a male chauvinist society. She also sided with the Boers against imperialism in the Anglo-Boer war of 1899-1902, and later espoused the cause of the African oppressed, declaring roundly in an interview with the *Transvaal Leader* in 1908:

> "I am of the opinion that . . . no distinction of race or colour should be made between South Africans. South Africa must be a free man's country.

The Africans

> "are the makers of our wealth, the great basic rock on which our state is founded — our vast labouring class".

Her prophecy of the future was chillingly prescient:

> "If, blinded by the gain of the moment, we see nothing in our dark man but a vast engine of labour; if to us he is not a man, but only a tool; if dispossessed entirely of the land for which he now shows that large aptitude for peasant proprietorship for the lack of which among their masses many great nations are decaying; if we force him permanently in his millions into the locations and compounds and slums of our cities, obtaining his labour cheaper, but to lose what the wealth of five Rands would not return to use; if, uninstructed in the highest forms of labour, without the rights of citizenship, his own social organisation broken up, without our having aided him to participate in our own; if, unbound to us by gratitude and sympathy, and alien to us in blood and colour, we reduce this vast mass to the condition of a great seething, ignorant proletariat — then I would rather draw a veil over the future of this land."

Because in advocating a solution she advanced no further than the qualified franchise of the Cape, the authors find her approach to "the native question" patronising, and her general political stance paternalistic. Maybe. One doubts, however, whether were she alive today she would be a member of the Progressive Federal Party, or of any party for that matter, because she was not primarily a political animal, but a sensitive human being born free and struggling to remain free while at the same time guilt-ridden and striving eternally for self-expression and fulfilment in a basically hostile environment. Hostile because of the man-woman question, because of national and racial antagonisms, because of the class struggle, the conflict between capital and labour — and because of the conflicts which raged inside her with at times shattering effect.

Perhaps one will never discover the primary cause of this personality problem which deprived Olive Schreiner of peace of mind throughout her life, because much of the original material on which a judgment could be based has been destroyed — letters etc. One observer, considering the nature of the friendship between Olive Schreiner and Eleanor Marx, has suggested the possibility of lesbianism; another in a review of this biography has stated: "In my view Olive was clearly bisexual". She married, had a child which lived for only 16 hours, suffered at least three miscarriages. There is no concrete evidence, however, on which to base any conclusion as to the real nature of her sexuality and inferences can be misleading.

This biography, based on very wide-ranging research, has gathered

together a vast body of material on Olive Schreiner, including much never before published, yet perhaps not surprisingly our perplexity remains as to the nature of Olive herself and of her relationships with her friends, male and female. We know a lot more about her and about Havelock Ellis, Karl Pearson — a lot more about *what* happened (which is of course not unimportant), but little more about *why* or *how* it happened — and that little we owe more to the confessions of Olive herself and the observations of her intimates than to the sometimes over-involved psychological interpretations of the authors. Perhaps we see Olive more sharply, with more detail, but we are still puzzled by her restlessness, her abrupt changes of direction. All her friends (or were they lovers?) flit through the pages like shadows. The essence of her relationships with Ellis, Pearson, and especially with her husband Cronwright, remains obscure.

If Olive never found herself, it was not for want of seeking. Perhaps she would not have been so oppressed with the sense of personal failure had she pondered the words of Charles Kingsley:

> "To be discontented with the divine discontent and to be ashamed with the noble shame is the very germ of the first upgrowth of all virtue".

And the mainspring of revolutionary thought and action. It was quite in keeping with her nonconformist forward-looking character that Olive welcomed the Russian revolution and regarded Lenin as the greatest genius of the previous hundred years. Her "divine discontent" prevented her from succumbing to the self-satisfaction of success and drove her ever onward in search of freedom and fulfilment for herself and all mankind. In this she was not merely a creature of her time, nor in advance of her time, but a pioneer for all time whose words still move and inspire as profoundly today as when they were first written.

P.M.

WORKERS IN THE "LAND OF THE FREE"

Philip S. Foner: **The AFL in the Progressive Era** Vol. V of *History of the Labour Movement in the USA,* International Publishers, New York 1980. Price, Cloth $15, Paper $4.95.

> **"If I turn traitor to the cause I now pledge, May this hand wither from the arm I now raise!"**

Three thousand arms raised and three thousand solemn voices proclaim this ancient Hebrew oath as they decide on strike action — this is a scene from American labour history, described by Philip S. Foner. It is the impassioned response to a brief speech by a 5-foot high, 20-year-old girl garment worker. Her speech follows two hours of advice from staid and respectable "labour leaders" who urged "caution and moderate action".

Foner is not an "unbiased" historian. He proceeds from a deep sense of sympathy for and commitment to the struggles of the American working class, but he is also a conscientious gatherer of hard facts. His book unfolds aspects of the history of the United States which are glossed over or not mentioned at all in official histories. In doing so he lays bare the deep roots of class struggles in capitalist USA, a country which sprang out of a bourgeois revolution with a declaration of independence which resounds to this day with the noble poetry of human aspirations. But the promises of the bourgeoisie, the "American dream" foundered already as long ago as the end of the last century, the hey-day of capitalist accumulation.

Whilst American capitalists were amassing gigantic fortunes, American workers were living in conditions of starvation, disease, base and inhuman exploitation and oppression akin to medieval slavery. American sailors

> "were bound to their ships by contract, and if they quit their ships before the contract expired, no matter what the cause, they not only forfeited all their wages, but were also liable to imprisonment as well . . ." (Page 109).

America had its galley slaves at the beginning of the enlightened 20th century, but migrant workers in South Africa still live under similar contracts today!

Even closer to the South African analogy were the conditions of mine workers. (One is reminded of the ghastly evidence presented by the African Mine Workers' Union before the 1944 Lansdowne Commission into Mine Wages.) In 1912 in the USA

> " . . . coal miners still lived under conditions not far removed from medieval

feudalism. The mine operators also owned the surrounding land upon which they erected company-owned dwellings and stores. To work in the mines, a labourer also had to live in a rented company home and do his purchasing at the company grocery and dry goods stores. The miner who protested simultaneously lost his job, his dwelling and his right to remain in the community . . ." (Page 182).

The miners were not paid in cash, but by a "scrip system" which could only be exchanged for goods at the company stores. (As late as the 1940's this system of token coins still prevailed on some of the coal mines in Natal!) And speaking of Natal coal mines, perhaps this will also sound familiar to South African workers:

"No words can adequately describe the contrast between the wild beauty of the Colorado countryside and the unspeakable squalor of these mining camps. The miners' huts, which were usually shared by several families, were made up of clapboard walls and thin-planked floors, with leaking roofs, sagging doors, broken windows, and old newspapers nailed to the walls to keep out the cold. Some families, particularly the black families, were forced to live in tiny cubicles not much larger than chicken-coops . . .

The miners received their wages, such as they were, in company scrip, which was discounted when converted into cash; they traded in company stores, where they paid excessively high prices. They received treatment from a company doctor, whose fees were deducted from their wages whether they were sick or well. They worked in mines which were notorious for their lack of safety precautions and in a state which had a grim record of fatal accidents. In 1912, the year preceding the strike, the rate of fatal accidents for the entire nation was 3.15 for each million tons of coal mined, whilst in Colorado the rate was 11.86. The high accident rate in the Colorado mines was aggravated by the absence of any workmen's compensation law in the state. The surviving widow and children of a mine accident victim were left to wage a relentless struggle against poverty . . . Each mining camp was a feudal domain, with the company acting as lord and master. . . "

Tens of thousands of American garment workers toiled in the notorious sweatshops of Brooklyn, Cleveland, Philadelphia (the city of brotherly love) and other cities under conditions of super-exploitation, excessively long hours and an excruciating system of piecework payment.

The Workers Fight Back

These conditions gave rise to bitter class struggles, to angry desperate protests by the workers, but to even more ferocious responses from the ruling class and its executive arm, the government and the State. The stark reality of class contention in the United States was not played out at negotiating tables in cosy boardrooms, where each side bargained for advantages over cigars and coffee. Class war was WAR in the truest sense

and it was fought out on the battlefields by coalminers in the hidden domains of John D. Rockefeller and other ruthless magnates. Mine workers staged strikes lasting as long as four years; tens of thousands of garment workers literally starved for many months in attempts to wrench concessions from greedy, intransigent bosses. The response of the employing classes each time was to muster the vicious brutal machinery of the State. Police and the Army, assisted by hired thugs and detective agencies, brought the entire arsenal of man's destructive genius, from rifles and machine guns to artillery, into play. Miners' settlements were bombed, gutted by fire, women and children were burned in their sleep during the infamous "Ludlow Massacre" which Foner describes as "one of the most shameful episodes in all of American history!" (Page 196).

If the conditions of American workers are today relatively better than in those hey-days of American capitalism, this is due mainly to the heroic struggles and sacrifices made by the working class and certainly not to any change of heart by the Rockefellers, the Carnegies and other "builders" of supra-national corporations. It was pressure of militant class actions by American workers which forced such temporary retreats by the capitalists as Wilson's "New Freedom" programme (1912) and Roosevelt's "New Deal" in the 30's.

That the "new era" for American labour never really materialised was due to the character of bourgeois democracy. Despite all external trappings of the ballot box and popular representation, the power of the capitalist class remained all-pervading. Even when progressive pro-working class legislation reached the House of Representatives and the Senate, the National Association of Manufacturers only had to buy off with its huge financial resources a few representatives, Republicans and Democrats, to defeat bills which the bosses did not consider in their interests. (Page 93). Most congressmen and senators are in any case drawn from the propertied classes. Examples abound of bourgeois politicians promising the electorate the world and either completely reneging on their promises or cleverly duping the electorate. (Pages 123, 131, 139).

Control of the press is a powerful factor in maintaining the ideological influence of the capitalists. During a strike of railwaymen, the strike committee complained that "the newspapers are only publishing the railroad company's side of the question". (Page 174). Nor is the bourgeoisie averse to claiming religion as its ally. One magistrate in sentencing a group of girl strikers, who had already been beaten up by the police and were "bruised and bleeding", had the audacity to say to them:

"You are on strike against god and nature, whose prime law is that man shall earn his bread in the sweat of his brow".

South African workers, too, have first-hand experience of this as their own rulers claim divine sanction for their system of oppression which has been universally proclaimed as a crime against humanity.

Reformist Leadership

One of the weapons of the boss class is the reformist trade union leadership. They sow social democratic illusions in the ranks of the workers and play on craft and sectional prejudices of the labour aristocracy to divide the workers. They are not beyond the use of racism. (Pages 261/262). They delay the execution of strike decisions thus enabling the bosses to mobilise strike-breakers and thugs. They often "settle" strikes behind closed doors with employers, betraying the workers' basic interests.

Above all, the reformist leadership vigorously opposes at all stages real independent political action of the working class. The cry of "no politics" is used to tie the labour movement to the existing political parties of the bourgeoisie. In advancing the slogan: "Reward your friends and punish your enemies!" the reactionary leadership commits the unions to support either the Republican or the Democratic Party, thus attempting to delay or prevent the formation of a really independent workers' political party.

But the paramount weapon of the bourgeoisie is the State apparatus. In every strike, in every forward movement of labour the State invariably operates on the side of the boss class. The courts, the police, the army are firmly ranged against labour. Gestapo type of spying, illegal postal censorship (Page 110) and break-ins into union and workers' offices (Page 176) are common practices despite constitutional prohibitions. In times of crises, when the workers' unity and strength threaten the very power of the capitalists, the mask of "democracy" is finally dropped. Martial Law is introduced, legal process is totally abandoned and open fascism is resorted to.

These and many others are lessons to be drawn from Foner's excellent history. The publication of his 5th volume happens to coincide with the appearance of another valuable study of labour: *Organise or Starve* a history of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), by Ken Luckhardt and Brenda Walls. The study shows that African trade union leaders have learnt a lot from the experiences of the American workers, as, indeed, from the struggles of the working class in many parts of the world.

L.E.

(*Organise or Starve*, The History of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, is published by Lawrence and Wishart, 520 pages with 68 photographs, appendices and index. Price £3.50 paper and £7.95 hardback. It will be reviewed in a future issue of *The African Communist* — Ed.)

POLITICS AND THE ENERGY CRISIS

Oil and Class Struggle, edited by Petter Nore and Terisa Turner. (Zed Press, London, £3.95)

This book contains thirteen essays by different authors on widely different aspects of the oil industry and the politico-economic problems which surround it. The authors are all, broadly speaking, Marxists, but their individual viewpoints differ substantially. The result is a rather patchy collection and the attempt of the editors, in their introduction, to discover a theme running through the whole work is a little strained.

There is nevertheless much of value to be found here. The most closely argued analysis is that of Mohssen Massarrat, who develops in considerable detail the concept of surplus profit in the oil industry as a groundrent, with the state in the oil-producing countries in the role of landlord. The maximum groundrent which can be obtained by this landlord is the whole difference between the (often very low) cost of production of oil and the market price which oil is capable of commanding in a world energy market whose marginal product is expensive West European coal.

The weakness and disunity of the landlord states, together with the fact that new sources of oil were continually being discovered, formerly condemned them to receive a mere fraction of this maximum. In recent years, they have succeeded, not only in raising the actual selling price of oil to its full market price, but also in changing, to their advantage, the proportions in which the total surplus is divided between groundrent and the remuneration of capital. These ideas (also dealt with in Petter Nore's essay) would seem to be essential to an understanding of the economics of "the energy crisis".

Other contributions deal with particular OPEC countries. Writing on Libya, Ruth First begins with a disarming confession of the shortcomings

of her own earlier book on the same subject. She goes on to analyse the recent history of Libya and to show with sad clarity that neither socialism nor the basis for balanced economic development have been achieved there. Equally depressing pictures emerge from the essays on Iraq and Nigeria.

In a lucid, but perhaps rather simplified, account of the role of energy in mechanisation, and of mechanisation in capitalist exploitation, Renfrew Christie uses the South African gold mining industry as an instructive example. A lively account by Trinidadian trade unionists of their conflict with the Texaco company is notable for its sharp sense of solidarity with the South African struggle and awareness of the international ramifications of that struggle.

P.M.

NELSON MANDELA SAYS UNITE! MOBILISE! FIGHT ON!

The following message by Nelson Mandela, smuggled out of Robben Island Prison, was released for publication by the African National Congress earlier this year:

The gun has played an important part in our history. The resistance of the black man to white colonial intrusion was crushed by the gun. Our struggle to liberate ourselves from white domination is held in check by force of arms. From conquest to the present the story is the same. Successive white regimes have repeatedly massacred unarmed defenceless Blacks. And wherever and whenever they have pulled out their guns the ferocity of their fire has been trained on the African people.

Apartheid is the embodiment of the racialism, repression and inhumanity of all previous white supremacist regimes. To see the real face of apartheid we must look beneath the veil of constitutional formulas, deceptive phrases and playing with words.

The rattle of gunfire and the rumbling of Hippo armoured vehicles since June 1976 have once again torn aside that veil. Spread across the face of our country, in black townships, the racist army and police have been

pouring a hail of bullets killing and maiming hundreds of black men, women and children. The toll of the dead and injured already surpasses that of all past massacres carried out by this regime.

Apartheid is the rule of the gun and the hangman. The Hippo, the FN rifle and the gallows are its true symbols. These remain the easiest resort, the everready solution of the race-mad rulers of South Africa.

Vague Promises, Greater Repression . . .

In the midst of the present crisis, while our people count the dead and nurse the injured, they ask themselves: What lies ahead?

From our rulers we can expect nothing. They are the ones who give orders to the SOLDIER CROUCHING OVER HIS RIFLE: theirs is the spirit that moves the finger that caresses the trigger.

Vague promises, tinkerings with the machinery of apartheid, constitution juggling, massive arrests and detentions side by side with renewed overtures aimed at weakening and forestalling the unity of us blacks and dividing the forces of change — these are the fixed paths along which they will move. For they are neither capable nor willing to heed the verdict of the masses of our people.

The Verdict of June 16!

That verdict is loud and clear: *Apartheid has failed. Our people remain unequivocal in its rejection. The young and the old, parent and child, all reject it.* At the forefront of this 1976/77 wave of unrest were our students and youth. They come from the universities, high schools and even primary schools. They are a generation whose whole education has been under the diabolical design of the racists to poison the minds and brainwash our children into docile subjects of apartheid rule. But after more than 20 years of Bantu Education the circle is closed and nothing demonstrates the utter bankruptcy of apartheid as the revolt of our youth.

The evils, the cruelty and the inhumanity of apartheid have been there from its inception. And all blacks — Africans, Coloureds and Indians — have opposed it all along the line. *What is now unmistakable, what the current wave of unrest has sharply highlighted is this: that despite all the window-dressing and smooth talk, apartheid has become intolerable.*

This awareness reaches over and beyond the particulars of our enslavement. The measure of this truth is the recognition by our people that under apartheid our lives, individually and collectively, count for nothing.

Unite!

We face an enemy that is deep-rooted, an enemy entrenched and determined not to yield. Our march to freedom is long and difficult. But both within and beyond our borders the prospects of victory grow bright.

The first condition for victory is black unity. Every effort to divide the blacks, to woo and pit one black group against another, must be vigorously repulsed. Our people — African, Coloured, Indian and democratic whites — must be united into a single massive and solid wall of resistance, of united mass action.

Our struggle is growing sharper. This is not the time for the luxury of division and disunity. At all levels and in every walk of life we must close ranks. Within the ranks of the people differences must be submerged to the achievement of a single goal — the complete overthrow of apartheid and race domination.

Victory is Certain!

The revulsion of the world against apartheid is growing and the frontiers of white supremacy are shrinking. Mozambique and Angola are free and the war of liberation gathers force in Namibia and Zimbabwe. *The soil of our country is destined to be the scene of the fiercest fight and the sharpest battles to rid our continent of the last vestiges of White minority rule.*

The world is on our side. The OAU, the UN and the Anti-Apartheid movement continue to put pressure on the racist rulers of our country. Every effort to isolate South Africa adds strength to our struggle.

At all levels of our struggle, within and outside the country, much has been achieved and much remains to be done. But victory is certain!

We Salute All Of You!

We who are confined within the grey walls of the Pretoria regime's prisons reach out to our people. With you we count those who have perished by means of the gun and the hangman's rope. We salute all of you — the living, the injured or the dead. For you have dared to rise up against the tyrant's might.

Even as we bow at their graves we remember this: The dead live on as martyrs in our hearts and minds, a reproach to our disunity and the host of shortcomings that accompany divisions among the oppressed, a spur to our efforts to close ranks and a reminder that the freedom of our people is yet

to be won. We face the future with confidence. For the guns that serve apartheid cannot render it unconquerable. Those who live by the gun shall perish by the gun.

Unite! Mobilise! Fight On!

Between the anvil of united mass action and the hammer of the armed struggle we shall crush apartheid and white minority racist rule.
AMANDLA NGAWETHU!
MATLA KE A RONA!

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN REVOLUTION

From Khumalo Migwe

The chief defect in most hitherto written articles and adopted statements on Black Consciousness and its role in the South African revolution is that it is analysed as a phenomenon that is now obsolete and belonging to the past — i.e. it has served its role as a militant mobilising factor in the pre-Soweto era, and consequently has no longer any relevance in the present and future of our revolution. Furthermore, some analysts have dismissed it as a sheer student affair while others have despised it as mere black liberalism.

But what in reality is meant by Black Consciousness? Should the answer be sought in abstract legal definitions and intellectual formulations of this or that would-be 'founder' of Black Consciousness? Or is it rather to be sought in a concrete historico-economic study of the national movement of the oppressed in South Africa? A precise answer to this question, which no South African revolutionary can dare avoid, would at once destroy all the empty talk about Black Consciousness, and real knowledge will take its place.

Our premise is that consciousness can never be anything else than

conscious existence, and the existence of men is their actual life process. That is to say, we set out from real concrete conditions of men in the South African politico-economic setting, and on the basis of their real life-process we demonstrate the development of the ideological reflexes and echoes of this life-process.

Black Consciousness is not a False Consciousness

From the time colonial rule was imposed in our country, its history is the history of the division of its peoples into dominant and subordinate groups (defined primarily by the criteria of colour), and the struggle of the oppressed group to end this division. To be born white in South Africa means to occupy a privileged economic, political and social status. The South African legislature decrees that it is those of this colour group alone that can own and control the means of production, vote and be voted into parliament and be guaranteed job access against the 'encroachment' of the black work-seeker. As is well known, the ideologists of racism have sought justification for this position of whites in the myth of the superiority of the white race and the inherent inferiority of the dark-skinned; maintaining (without a shred of plausible evidence) that various races of mankind differ inherently in intelligence and other virtues and that therefore the 'superior white race' was destined by God to rule the dark-skinned. It thereby follows, therefore, why Hendrik Verwoerd, addressing Parliament in his capacity of Prime Minister in 1963, said:

> "Reduced to its simplest form the problem is nothing but this: We want to keep South Africa white. Keeping it white can mean only one thing, namely white domination. Not 'leadership', not 'guidance', but control, supremacy."

In order to grasp the real position that racism has accorded the whites in the South African politico-economic ladder, let us refer to an accurate description by Joe Slovo:

> " '. . . the white worker is not just an aristocracy of labour which has been corrupted ideologically by some concessions from the ruling class; he is, in a sense which has no precedent in any other capitalist country, a part (albeit subordinate) of that ruling class in its broader meaning." (See Davidson, Slovo and Wilkinson, *Southern Africa: New Politics of Revolution,* Penguin Books, 1976, p. 122)

Correspondingly, the place occupied by the blacks (particularly Africans) in South Africa's politico-economic framework is underlined by the fact that their economic, political and social interests will be served only by the complete destruction of white supremacy — a system that ensures black

domination by a racist minority for the purpose of extracting super-profits for the capitalist class (both South African and international).

Black Consciousness, therefore, is a product of no imaginary grievances; it is a reflection of our concrete material conditions in the colour-defined position we occupy in relation to the wealth of the country, the political institutions of administration, education, etc. It is in the light of this consideration that Oliver Tambo, the President of the ANC, in a 1971 New Year message declared:

> " . . . The black people of racist South Africa must recognise that freedom for South Africa, no less for them as the most exploited, will come only when they rise as the solid black mass — rising from under the hill of the oppressor and storming across the colour barriers to the citadels of political and economic power.
>
> "Let us therefore be explicit. Power to the people means, in fact, power to the black people — the gagged millions who cannot set their foot in the Cape Town parliament where Bantustans and Coloured and Indian Councils are made; the most ruthlessly exploited, tortured victims of racial hatred and humiliation. Let the black seize by force what is theirs by right of birth, and use it for the benefit of all, including those from whom it has been taken."

Consequently, if we want to grasp the meaning of Black Consciousness, not by juggling with invented abstract definitions, but by examining the historico-economic conditions of the oppressed in our country, we must inevitably reach the conclusion that Black Consciousness is simply Black Nationalism. 'Black Consciousness' is certainly a new term in our political vocabulary, but it does not denote a new concept. The drive towards unity of the oppressed, which is the core of Black Consciousness, has deep roots in the history of our country. Moshoeshoe had made attempts to forge an alliance of Black people against white aggression. Pixley ka Isaka Seme as early as 1911 wrote of "the voice in the wilderness bidding all the dark races of our sub-continent to come together" (See *Imvo Zabantsundu,* 24th October, 1911). The Dadoo-Naicker-Xuma Pact and the united front that stood the test of the Defiance Campaign is an indelible historical record. In the dock Mandela talked about the ideological creed of the ANC having always been the creed of African Nationalism. So that Black Consciousness is an ideological and political reflection of the unsolved national question; it reflects the conviction that the black people of our country can only win their freedom by ther own efforts — a positive revolt against oppression, servility and the unparalleled arrogance of South African Ku-Klux-Klansmen.

Anybody acquainted with the fundamentals of Black Consciousness (i.e.

specifically as it relates to the teachings of SASO, BPC, SASM, etc.) must inevitably draw this conclusion from the totality of its teachings. I hasten to stress 'the totality of its teachings' precisely because the criticism levelled against Black Consciousness has, right up to its latest efforts, never quitted the realm of individual statements. Far from examining its general political premises, the whole body of its critics has actually sprung from the statements of Steve Biko; but this failure to look at the whole spectacle from a standpoint beyond the utterances of individuals, whether Steve Biko or not, is the reason why not a single one of these criticisms has appreciated its real essence. Consequently many were compelled to abstract it from the historical process and fixed Black Consciousness as something by itself.

The polemics against Steve Biko and the attempts to extract some of his statements and turn them against the whole of the Black Consciousness concept only demonstrate the failure to understand that Black Consciousness in reality was itself a stage in the development of Black Nationalism under particular conditions of our revolutionary struggle. It is regrettable and indeed surprising that there are still people in the ranks of our liberation movement who get so infuriated by the mere mention of Black Consciousness.

Guilty of Chauvinism?

An ideology which proclaims colour as its sole foundation, and consequently sees the forces ranged in our country against one another only in colour compartments is dangerous because, firstly, it fails to see the special character of the economic and class basis of South African racism, i.e. that racism is the mechanism of capitalist economic exploitation in our apartheid society. Secondly, it fails to answer the question: who is a patriot, Matanzima or Bram Fischer?, thus hiding among us the Savimbis and the Mangopes by the colour of their skin. Thirdly it ignores the ancient wisdom that the best war strategy is that which divides the enemy camp. It is against this 'go it alone' ideology of black exclusiveness that the revolutionary movement, headed by the African National Congress, rejects the thinking of the Pan Africanist Congress as an irrelevant factor in the South African revolutionary equation.

But was the Black Consciousness Movement (BPC, SASO, SASM, etc.) guilty of black chauvinism? (In referring to BCM I exclude in this respect

the current dubious trend based in London or Botswana about which I reserve a comment at the end.) If Black Consciousness was so broad an ideological spectrum that it encompassed black chauvinists within its ranks and leadership, it is simply because black chauvinists have been found in practically every historical phase of the development of Black Nationalism. For example, decades after the adoption of our revolutionary programme, the Freedom Charter, the Makiwanes were still to be found in our midst.

Far from giving a historical background to the decision by black students to break with the predominantly white NUSAS — a historical fact which has been sufficiently documented — suffice it to remind ourselves that it is not SASO but the ANC Youth League that first exposed the liberal illusion that NUSAS could represent the aspirations of the black students. In 1961, the ANC Youth League, whose stronghold was the university college of Fort Hare, noting that NUSAS held aloof from the liberation struggle and had swallowed the intoxicating drug of gradualism, founded ASA — African Students' Association — to organise African university and high school students. Liberals, be they black or white, ignore the fact that far from being a black 'Afrikaanse Studentebond (ASB)', or conforming with the Government policy of segregation, SASO in reality represented a quite obvious rejection of apartheid by its very fact of uniting Africans, Indians and Coloureds.

When we consider the substance of the argument that Black Consciousness was black chauvinism, it seems to be based on the following points: (1) that it failed to consider that there are white revolutionaries, (2) that it was blinded by black colour prejudice, (3) that it had fallen among liberals (albeit black liberals). To this indictment, BCM would plead: NOT GUILTY. The charge betrays a completely erroneous understanding of the Black Consciousness Movement.

(1) The SASO Policy Manifesto stated that SASO is not anti-white but pro-black. An ideal illustration of the manifestation of this principle is the case of Raymond Suttner (a white lecturer at the university of Natal) who was arrested for sabotage. When subsequently he made a dramatic appearance in the Durban Supreme Court, a question was asked in the ranks of SASO as to how whites like Suttner were to be analysed. The response was that Suttner was a black man in a white skin (the relevant article appeared in the SASO Newsletter). To understand that this was not deviation from policy, one has to remember that when the SASO Manifesto defined blacks, it never stooped to a dictionary definition of the colour 'black' — at best it attempted a political definition, that it is "those

who are by law discriminated against as a group."

It is interesting to note the similarity of thought between the abovementioned definition and the one declared by Oliver Tambo in his 1971 New Year message when he said:

> "And who are the blacks in South Africa? They are the people known and treated as 'Kaffirs, Coolies, and Hotnots' together with those South Africans whose total political identity with the African oppressed makes them black in all but the accident of skin colour. Where this identity is not merely reformist but is revolutionary, there in my view, you have a black man."

This particular charge against BCM is further rebutted by the practical experience of the 1974 pro-Frelimo rally (in which participated a significant number of white students of the university of Natal) and the solidarity march of the Wits University students during the Soweto uprising.

(2) As to the accusation that Black Consciousness was blinded by black colour prejudice, let us recall that whereas the above-mentioned whites had never been mishandled in black gatherings, there is evidence of certain black Bantustan leaders having faced the wrath of the black youth.

(3) The real liberals are those who manifest an a-historical approach to the black experience; those who express fears when blacks reassert their dignity and identity; those who shout: "black chauvinism!" when we refuse to be called non-whites, when we refuse to grin and take off our hats every time we speak to some white man, even if he's the age of our children.

During our time of struggle, the liberals (who have a long history stretching to before their treacherous participation in the setting up of the 1910 Constitution), in their political tradition, argued against the formation of SASO in the same way as they had opposed the Congress of Democrats (an organisation of white revolutionaries that unconditionally supported the policy of the ANC). Paying only lip-service to our struggle, these beloved 'friends' disappeared into obscurity immediately they left Wits, Cape Town or Natal Universities. Into obscurity? NO! We met them the next day as employers in IBM, Unilever, etc. uncompromisingly demanding from us the same pass book they had been speaking against while at university. And what were the black students expected to do? Of course, unlike the crowd of Mark Antony whose judgement had "fled to brutish beasts and men lost their reasoning", black youth sensed "the necessity for collective resistance, definitely abandoning their slavish submission to the authorities . . . " (See V.I. Lenin, *What Is To Be Done,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1969, p.31)

Black Consciousness and Class Consciousness

Complete national liberation is impossible without economic emancipation. If Black Consciousness ignores the class basis of racism, it will certainly be the playground for advancing the interests of the black quislings who are aspiring to get into the racists' shoes, singing the Muzorewa anti-revolutionary but pro-imperialist church hymn. And in so far as the danger exists of the emergence of bourgeois nationalism and black chauvinism, it will be highly important that we should not only be vigilant at all times but should ensure in principle and also in practice that the working class is guaranteed its special role in our national revolution. In this respect, it is appropriate to heed the Strategy and Tactics of the ANC which say:

> " . . . (Ours) is a national struggle which is taking place in a different era and in a different context from those which characterised the early struggles against colonialism. It is happening in a new kind of world — a world which is no longer monopolised by the imperialist world system . . . a world in which the horizons liberated from foreign oppression extend beyond mere formal control and encompass elements which make such control meaningful — economic emancipation. It is also happening in a new kind of South Africa; in which there is a large and well-developed working class whose class consciousness and independent expressions of the working people — their political organs and trade unions — are very much part of the liberation front. Thus our nationalism must not be confused with chauvinism or narrow nationalism of a previous epoch. It must not be confused with the classical drive by an elitist group among the oppressed people to gain ascendancy so that they can replace the oppressor in the exploitation of the mass."

Only in these express terms can Black Consciousness and class consciousness not be incompatible. The present 'Black Consciousness' trend in London or Botswana is, in my view, a failure to recognise the real forces capable of liberating South Africa; its failure finally means treachery, political death, renunciation of their own role and desertion to the side of the imperialists.

Just because the Black Consciousness Movement has awakened in the breasts of South African youth a glow of national pride which had manifested itself in the Soweto and post-Soweto era (including the victorious operations of Umkhonto We Sizwe), it is not immune from errors and weaknesses. We should nevertheless conclude that Black Consciousness will continue to be a vital reality in our struggle as long as the aspirations of the oppressed have not been fulfilled; and Black Consciousness will continue to find organisational expression in the African National Congress. Further than that, it will, however, remain a

mere black shell unless it is interconnected with the social emancipation of the exploited working people.

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